

PJ 5621 .C97 1855 Cureton, William, 1808-1864. Spicilegium syriacum



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# SPICILEGIUM SYRIACUM:

CONTAINING REMAINS

OF

# BARDESAN, MELITON, AMBROSE

AND

## MARA BAR SERAPION.

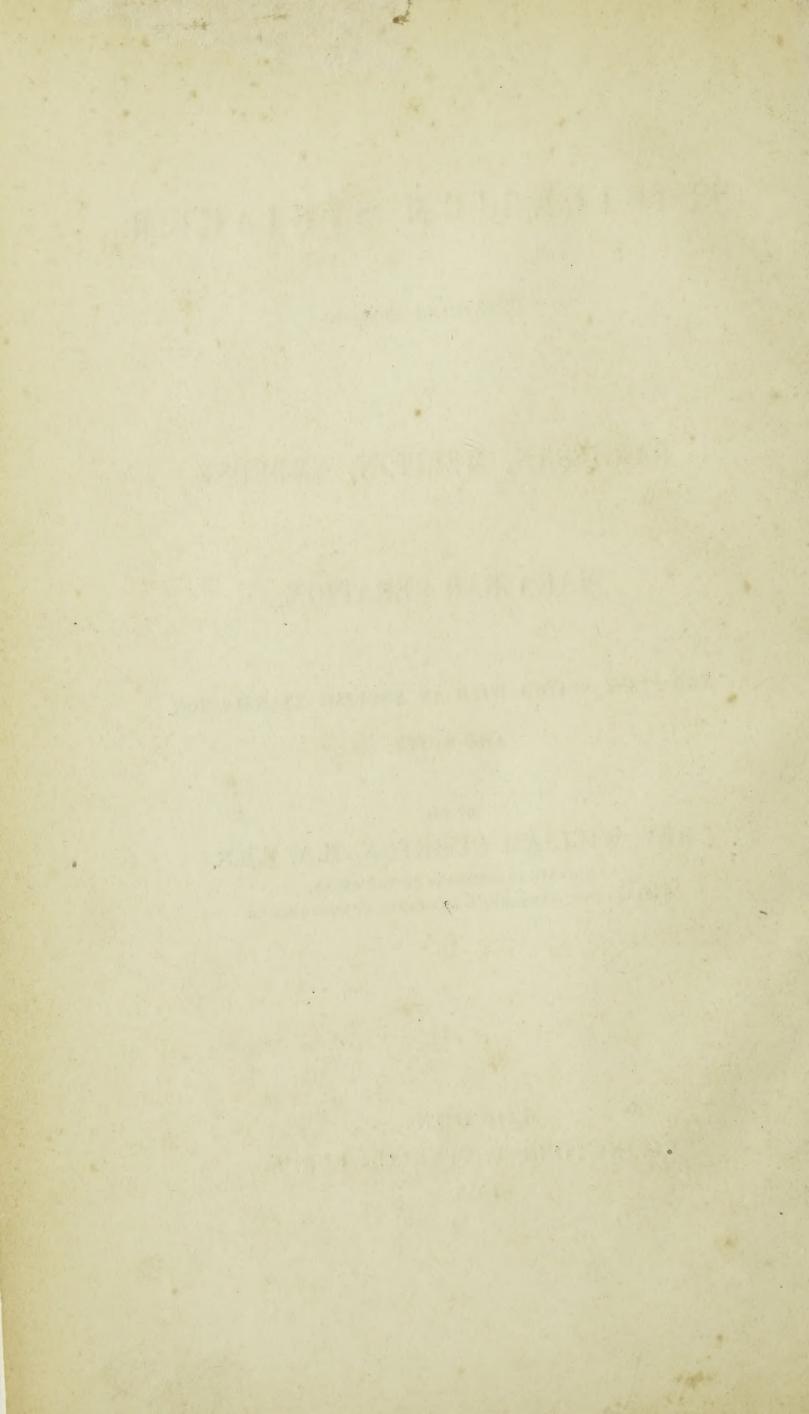
NOW FIRST EDITED, WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
AND NOTES,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM CURETON, M.A. F.R.S.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN,
RECTOR OF ST. MARGARET'S, AND CANON OF WESTMINSTER.

LONDON:
RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE.
1855.



### TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

# THE LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.,

TRUSTEE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

&c. &c. &c.

### My Lord

The publication for the first time of remains of writers who have been among the most celebrated in the earliest ages of the Christian Church cannot fail of securing for this Volume an interest with the scholar, and a place in the libraries of our colleges and public institutions, in spite of any deficiencies on the part of the Editor.

I feel highly gratified, therefore, that the permission to dedicate it to your Lordship has afforded me such an occasion of recording my admiration and respect for your Lordship's talents and virtues; and my gratitude, in common with that of very many others, for your long continued efforts, through evil report and good report, to promote the civil and religious liberty of all classes of society—the best human means of securing both their temporal and eternal happiness;—as well as of expressing my deep sense and acknowledgment of favours and kindnesses, for which I had no claim of personal connection or private influence with your Lordship to afford me the slightest pretension.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful Servant,

WILLIAM CURETON.

Cloisters, Westminster Abbey, July 20, 1855.

## NOTICE.

The prudent advice which Horace has given to authors, "Nonumque prematur in annum," has been literally followed by me with respect to this book, although I cannot take the credit of having adopted it intentionally. It is now nine years since the Text of this volume was printed. Other more pressing occupations have hindered me from publishing it before the present time. In the Preface to "The Antient Syriac Version of the Epistles of St. Ignatius," which appeared in 1845, I made known my intention of editing the celebrated Dialogue of Bardesan on Fate which I had found; and as early as the year 1846 I communicated an English translation of the "Oration of Meliton" to the late venerable Dr. Routh, President of Magdalene College, Oxford. At that time he had just completed the first volume of "Reliquiæ Sacræ," in which he had collected all that was then known to remain of the genuine writings of the antient Bishop of Sardis. In the same year, when my "Vindiciæ Ignatianæ" appeared, I announced that the present volume was in the press, and early in 1847 the whole of the Syriac part was printed.

In 1852 M. Ernest Renan, a young orientalist, from whose zeal and diligence we may hope for much hereafter, in a Letter addressed to M. Reinaud, inserted in the "Journal Asiatique" an account of some Syriac Manuscripts which he had seen in the British Museum the year before, and amongst the rest, a notice of that in which are found the treatises comprised in this volume. Not having seen the announcement of my intended publication, he believed that he had been the first to discover the existence of these precious remains of antiquity. In writing to thank M. Renan for the copy of this Letter, which he had been good enough to send to me, I pointed out to him the fact that they had been already printed four years before. His reply, which is now in my hands, reflects far greater honour upon M. Renan, than the reputation of any such discovery could have done. He is most anxious to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Arte Poetica, v. 388.

repair an injury, which, although in ignorance and unintentionally, he thought that he had done to me by assuming to himself a discovery which I had already made, and to restore to me the full credit—if indeed there be any in so small a matter—by taking the earliest opportunity of stating in the "Journal Asiatique" how the case really stood. Nor did this satisfy him. In a brief notice prefixed to a Latin Translation of this tract of Meliton, which came into my hands in time for me to refer to it in the notes of this volume, he again alludes to the same matter.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the Syriac text which I had communicated to M. Renan, for the purpose of being inserted in the "Spicilegium Solesmense," edited by my very learned friend, M. Pitra, I also placed in the hands of the Chevalier Bunsen the English translation in manuscript, as well as the printed text, with full permission to make any use of it that he might deem proper, for the second edition of his work, "Hippolytus and his Age."

In the course of the present year, a writer who seems to have been altogether unaware of these facts has inserted, in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," a translation of the pieces attributed to Meliton, published in this volume. It appears to be the attempt of some young man who at present has but a very imperfect acquaintance with the language, as well as with what has been done in Syriac literature of late, or he could hardly have been ignorant that my volume was in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hæc ego, mense Septembri 1851, dum Musei Britannici codices assidue verso, non sine gaudio reperi, deque his, in Journal asiatique, april. 1852, breviter egi, simul et operis Melitoniani initium publici juris feci. Mox vero per litteras certior factus sum quæ primum nec reperisse credideram, eadem v. cl. Gulielmo Curetonio bene jam cognita fuisse, imo virum doctissimum et honoratissimum apud se habere eadem fragmenta jam typis excusa, atque in Spicilegio illo syriaco quod omnes Europæ viri eruditi tanta expectatione præstolantur, proditura. Curetonii ergo laus sit Melitonem syrum primum detexisse. Vide autem quæ sit viri illius humanitas: nostris precibus motus, plagulas quibus textus Melitonianus continebatur nobiscum communicavit, easque per nos latinas fieri permisit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the numbers for January and April 1855.

the press. It has been my duty, in the course of the Notes, to point out some of the errors into which he has fallen, although I could not undertake to notice them all.¹ Whoever he be, let him not take this amiss. He deserves encouragement for having applied himself at all to such studies; but he will certainly render a greater benefit to literature, and better consult his own reputation, if henceforth he will advisedly follow the caution of the Roman poet whose words I have quoted above.

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find these mentioned in the notes. I give one or two here as a specimen of this author's version. He signs himself B.H.C.

#### B.H.C.'s TRANSLATION.

I say that rejection is denounced against those.

Now the understanding is free and a knower of the truth: whether it is in these things consider with thyself. And if they dress up for thee the figure of a woman.

Against this generation.

But perhaps thou wilt say, How is my work not the God whom thou worshippest, and not an image?

And art thou not ashamed that blood should be required of the maker of it?

Wherein thou wallowest on the earth, and yet art favoured. For things which are destitute of consciousness are afraid of him who maketh the earth tremble.

Was seized by the shearer.

Thou didst lie down against rectitude of mind.

#### My Translation.

I affirm that also the Sibyl has said respecting them.

But thou, a free intelligence and cognizant of the truth, enter into thyself, and if they clothe thee in the fashion of a woman.

Touching this matter.

But perchance thou mayest say, Why did not God create me, so that I should then have served Him, and not idols?

And art thou not ashamed, perchance it should be deficient to demand of him who made it?

Why rollest thou thyself upon the earth, and offerest supplication to things which are without perception? Fear him who shaketh the earth.

Was taken from the flock.

Thou wast reclining on a soft bed:



### PREFACE.

THE Manuscript from which the materials for the present volume have been chiefly derived, is one of those which were obtained by Archdeacon Tattam from the Syrian convent in the desert of Nitria in the year 1843. It is now numbered 14,658 amongst the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum. Several leaves were added in 1847 from fragments subsequently acquired by M. Pacho; and four more were again supplied from other fragments procured also by him from the same source in the year 1850. At present the volume consists of one hundred and eighty-eight leaves. Originally it must have had more than two hundred and twenty; for the last gathering as it now stands is numbered the twenty-second, and each gathering consisted of ten leaves. It is imperfect both at the beginning and the end, has suffered mutilations in several parts of the volume, and some of the leaves have been much stained by oil. It is written in a large bold hand in two columns: the headings of chapters and the titles of separate works are distinguished by red letters. It appears to have been transcribed about the sixth or seventh century of our era.

#### BARDESAN.

The first work printed from this Manuscript is the celebrated Treatise of Bardesan on Fate, said to have been addressed to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, commonly known as

<sup>1</sup> See the account of the acquisition of the collection in the Preface to my edition of the Festal Letters of Athanasius.

Marcus Aurelius; although, with the document now complete before us, we find no intimation of its having been so addressed. Eusebius calls it, 'Ο πρὸς 'Αντωνῖνον ίκανώτατος αὐτοῦ περὶ εἰμαρμένης διάλογος: Jerome, copying him, writes, "Clarissimus et fortissimus liber quem, Marco Antonino de fato tradidit.<sup>2</sup> Theodoretus speaks of the author in the following terms: Βαρδησάνης δὲ ὁ Σύρος, ἐξ Ἐδέσης ὁρμώμενος, ἐν τοῖς Οὐήρου Μάρκου Καίσαρος ήκμασε χρόνοις. τοῦτον φασὶ πολλὰ τῆς Βαλεντίνου περικόψαι μυθολογίας. πολλά δὲ καὶ τῆ Σύρων συνέγραψε γλωττη, καὶ ταῦτα τινες μετέφρασαν είς την Έλλάδα φωνήν. εντετύχηκα δε κάγω λόγοις αὐτοῦ κατὰ είμαρμένης γραφείσι. Epiphanius gives the same account in a rather extended form, supplying also the name of the person to whom Bardesan chiefly addressed himself in this Dialogue: 'Ος πολλά πρὸς 'Αβειδάν τὸν 'Αστρονόμον κατά είμαρμένης λέγων συνελογησατο.4 Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks of the author thus: Βαρδησάνης, ίκανώτατός τις άνηρ, έν τε τη Σύρων φωνή διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καί τινας έτέρους διαφόρων προϊσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος, τῆ οἰκεία παρέδωκε γλωττῆ τε καὶ γραφῆ, μετὰ καὶ πλειστων έτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων;  $^5$  and again, in his PreparatioEvangelica, he prefaces an extract from the work now before us with these words: Παραθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ τῶνδε τὰς ἀποδείξας έξ ἀνδρὸς, Σύρου μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπ' ἄκρον δὲ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐπιστήμης έλαληκότος. Βαρδησάνης ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ, δς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους διαλογοις τὰ δὲ πῆ μνεμονεύεται φάναι. He then quotes the long extracts which I have printed, pp. 8—10 and 16—32. Photius, writing of Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, has the following words: άμα τε την της είμαρμένης κατασείων δόξαν, καὶ την

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Eccles. b. iv. c. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Catal. Script. Eccl. Edit. Erasmus, vol. i. p. 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hæret. Fabul. Comp. b. i. c. 22. <sup>4</sup> Panarium, edit. Petau, p. 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hist. Eccles. loc. cit. <sup>6</sup> Prap. Evang. b. vi. c. 9.

Βαρδισάνου συνεπιβραπιζει.¹ And again, Έν ῷ τοὺς ἀπὸ Βαρδισάνου αίρετικοὺς διελέγχει, δέχεσθαι μὲν προσποιουμένους τοὺς προφήτας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς γενέσεως ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἀυτεξουσίους ὁμολογοῦντας, τὸ σῶμα δὲ τῆ ταύτης ὑποτάττοντας διοικήσει πλοῦτον γὰρ καὶ πενίαν καὶ νόσον καὶ ὑγίειαν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ θάνατον καὶ ὅσα οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔργον εἶναι λέγουσι τῆς εἵμαρμάνης.²

The title, indeed, of the work in this volume is Book of the Laws of Countries, and the name of the person who is introduced as having written down the dialogue is Philip (see pages 5 and 7); but it is evident that it is the same treatise as that alluded to by all these writers whose words have been now quoted. It is a dialogue. Bardesan takes the leading part in it: his discourse is addressed to his companions, one of whom is named Avida, or Abida. The subjectmatter is on Fate. It affirms the precise doctrine which is attributed to Bardesan's treatise. The author declares himself to be fully acquainted with the science of Chaldaan astrology, and gives abundant proof of the same; and, further, all those passages which have been quoted as extracts from Bardesan's treatise, are found in this. Moreover, it is written in Syriac, in which most of his works were composed, although he was also well skilled in the Greek tongue, as Epiphanius<sup>3</sup> informs There can be no doubt, therefore, that we have now in our hands, in the original language of the author, and in a complete form, that celebrated Dialogue of Bardesan on Fate, written about the middle of the second century, which has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Bibliotheca, Cod. 223: edit. Bekker, p. 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Λόγιός τις ών έν ταις δυσί γλώσσαις, Έλληνική τε διαλέκτω, καὶ τή των Σύρων φωνή. Panarium, p. 476.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> At page 30 he speaks of the recent conquest of Arabia by the Romans. This took place under Marcus Aurelius: see Tillemont, Hist. des Empe-

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so often referred to by subsequent writers, but of which only a comparatively small portion has hitherto been known to us.

Eusebius has inserted two long extracts from this treatise in his Praparatio Evangelica, probably from a Greek translation made by some of those friends of Bardesan, who, as the same author, in his Ecclesiastical History, as well as Theodoretus, informs us, translated his dialogues into Greek.<sup>1</sup> I have given both of these passages in this volume, on the same page with the English translation. Besides the Greek version preserved by Eusebius, there is also a Latin translation of the second extract, contained in the Recognitions, falsely attributed to Clement of Rome, which were modified and done into Latin by Ruffinus about the year 400.2 I have printed this, as well as the Greek,3 in juxtaposition with my own English translation, in order that the reader may at one view be enabled to compare the three, and to note their variations as well as their agreement. I have likewise appended an extract from the second Dialogue of Cæsarius, brother of Gregory of Nazianzum, in which, although the name of the author be not mentioned, much has been borrowed from that same part of Bardesan's dialogue which relates especially to the laws and habits of different nations. It may be interesting and useful to compare this also with the other versions, and with the original text.4

reurs, vol. ii. p. 402: thus confirming by internal evidence the account of the date of this work given by Eusebius, Theodoretus, Epiphanius, and others.

<sup>1</sup> Οθς οἱ γνώριμοι (πλεῖστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῷ παρισταμένῷ) ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς. Hist. Eccl. b. 4. c. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See his Preface to Gaudentius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pp. 16—33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In giving these extracts I have followed, for Eusebius, the edition of the *Preparatio Evangelica*, printed at the Clarendon Press in 4 vols.

With respect to the Author, Bardesan himself, so much has been already said by different writers, that the subject seems to have been exhausted; and I am not aware that I am able to bring any additional facts to light, beyond what is supplied by the treatise itself, now, after the lapse of many centuries, for the first time exhibited in its original integrity. therefore only quote a few passages relating to Bardesan and his opinions, which I have extracted from the famous reply of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug, to an anonymous writer who had impugned the opinions which he had put forth in an Epistle addressed to the monks.<sup>2</sup> They are taken from one of the Nitrian Manuscripts obtained by Dr. Tattam in 1841, now in the British Museum, No. 12,164: مرا المراه المراع المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه المراه (OOLDADO LOO, LOO) OF COLOR "But thou hast not been mindful of thy instructor, Bardesan, whom his disciples celebrate in their books for his patience and polite answers to every man." fol. 125, b. حد بكما باكمك بكم محمد المعادية والمحكم بكم المحكم ال

by the late Dr. Gaisford, Dean of Christ Church; for the Recognitions, that of Gersdorf, Lips. 1838; and for Cæsarius, that of Gallandi in the Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. Venet. 1765. Vol. vi. The text of this last is in a very corrupt state. Several errors might, however, easily have been amended, but I deemed it better to copy the text as I found it.

Two authors have written works expressly on this subject—FRID. STRUNZIUS, Historia Bardesanis et Bardesanistarum. 4to. Viteb. 1710; and Augustus Hahn, Bardesanes Gnosticus Syrorum Primus Hymnologus. Commentatio Historico-Theologica. 8vo. Lips. 1819. Beausobre has devoted an entire chapter: De Bardesanes et de ses Erreurs, c. 9, b. iv. vol. ii. in Histoire de Manichée et du Manicheisme. See also, Cave, Lardner, Tillemont, and others. Perhaps the most complete compendious notice is that by Gallandi, Bibl. Veterum Patrum, vol. i. Proleg. p. cxxii.

<sup>2</sup> See respecting this, Assemani. Biblioth. Orient. vol. ii. p. 27.

that boy which was born of the Virgin, that her child is the Highest, he assents to Bardesan." f. 127, b. رحم حم محموه محمد إسعاء المعتده المعمرة مع معمرا مع "Therefore this also, that 'the Antient of Eternity was a boy,' we have not taken this from Bardesan, but he has made use of it as a means of concealing his own error, and took it from the doctrine of the Church." امل محتده ، امراب ، مح محمر اسل محروا هم المد ، امراج ادل معرا مفكم ادلا كحزيمي عكوير . . . . بلا أبندلا عدا من نصيم of them who say, that he sent down the Word a body from heaven, as thou saidest just now, and didest assent to thy teacher Bardesan . . . . . Because thou hast not comprehended the mind of Bardesan, who assumeth the body of Christ to be from heaven." f. 171. b.

#### MELITON.1

The second tract in this volume bears the title of "An Oration of Meliton the Philosopher," addressed to Antoninus Cæsar. Nor is there any thing contained in it, so far as I am competent to form an opinion, which in any way should lead

Respecting Meliton, and the writings attributed to him, see Eusebius' account printed in this volume, p. 56, and the notes thereon; Cave's "Life of Saint Melito, Bishop of Sardis," in his Lives of the most eminent Fathers of the Church that flourished in the first Four Centuries, and the Notice in his Historia Litteraria. Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. vol v. p. 184; and Piper, De vita et Scriptis Melitonis, in "Theolog. Stud. u. Kritik," by Ullmann and Umbreit, A.D. 1838, p. 54. Dr. Routh has published all that was then known to remain of the genuine writings of Meliton in his Reliq. Sacr. vol. i. p. 113.

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us to doubt of the correctness of this inscription, or to question the genuineness of the work.

It is true, as M. Bunsen states, that it appears to be entire, and yet does not contain that passage quoted by Eusebius 1 from the most famous of all Meliton's writings, his Apology to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus in defence of the persecuted Christians. Had indeed that learned ecclesiastical historian been fully acquainted with all the works of Meliton, and also distinctly stated that no other address had been made by him to any one bearing the name of Antoninus Cæsar than that in which was contained the passage that he has quoted, it would then have been sufficiently evident that the work before us could not be by Meliton, if indeed it be, as it appears to me to be, complete, and not an abridgment or extract from a larger Apology: this, however, may seem to some to be uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Eusebius himself, however, has given us to understand plainly that he did not profess to exhibit a full and exact account of all the writings, either of Meliton or of Apollinaris,3 but only of such as had come to his own knowledge. silence, therefore, as the late venerable Dr. Routh<sup>4</sup> has justly observed, is not of itself to be construed as an argument against the genuineness or authority of any work bearing a name not mentioned by him, if there be no positive external testimony against it, nor any internal evidence in the work itself which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> M. Renan thinks it a fragment. "Melitonis Episcopi Sardium Apologiæ ad Marcum Aurelium imperatorem fragmentum."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See p. 57, l. 15.

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Neque auctori Præfationis magis deneganda est fides, quam aliis temporum eorundem scriptoribus, ex quorum testimonio multi recepti sunt libri veterum, neque ab Eusebio, neque ab alio quoquam æqualium ejus memorati; præsertim quam infra asserat Eusebius, pervenisse opera certa quædam ex multis Apollinarii libris." Reliq. Sacr. vol. i. p. 167.

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may render it doubtful or suspected. Maximus, in his Preface to the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, says that there were very many works which Eusebius omitted to notice, because they had never fallen into his hands. And as a case in point we may observe that Eusebius has not said one word respecting the *Apology* of Athenagoras, presented also to Marcus Antoninus about the same time, and containing many things in common with this address, and with the other Apologies offered to the Roman Emperors at that period.

There is no reason why we must suppose that Meliton should not have written two Addresses to the Roman Emperor as well as Justin Martyr, or that one of them might not have escaped the knowledge of Eusebius, or at least have had no mention of it made by him, as well as that of Athenagoras. The Apology cited by Eusebius was probably amongst the latest, or indeed the last of all the works 2 which Meliton wrote; and internal evidence has led critics to conclude that it was presented to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus in the tenth year of his reign, after the death of his associate in the Empire, Lucius Aurelius Verus, about A.D. 169-70. External testimony by the author of the Chronicon Paschale attributes it to the same date, A.D. 169.3 But the same writer, five years before, A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Πάμπολλα παρήκεν Εὐσέβιος οὐκ ἐλθοντα παρὰ χεῖρας οἰκείας καὶ γὰρ οὔτε φησὶν ἄπαντα καθάπαξ συναγηοχέναι μᾶλλον γε μὴν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονα βιβλία καθεστάναι μηδαμῶς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐληλυθότα. καὶ πολλῶν ἐδυνάμην μνημονεῦσαι μὴ κτηθέντων αὐτῷ, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας; cited by Dr. Routh, Relig. Sacr. vol. i. p. 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Eusebius writes— Ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ πρὸς ᾿Αντωνῖνον βιβλίδιον, which Ruffinus translates, "Et post omnia Liber ad Antoninum Verum." b. 4. c. 26.

<sup>3</sup> In the exxxvii. Ol. A. C. 169: Μελίτων, 'Ασιανὸς τῆς Σάρδεων πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ 'Απολλινάριος 'Ιεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου βιβλίον ἀπολογίας Αὐρηλίω 'Αντωνίνω ἐπέδωκαν, 'Ιουστίνου καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, κ.τ.λ., p. 484 ibid.

164-65, speaks also of an Apology presented by Meliton to the Emperor. Unless, therefore, we assume that he was not sufficiently well and clearly informed, and has therefore given a confused account—an assumption for which the silence of Eusebius cannot afford sufficient grounds—we can hardly draw any other conclusion from his words than that Meliton presented two Apologetical addresses to the Roman Emperors—the one before us, which contains rather a defence of the true religion against the Polytheism, idolatry, and incorrect ideas of the Deity entertained by Pagans; and the other, as the extract preserved by Eusebius would lead us to infer, against the persecution of the Christians on account of their faith, Indeed the passage which the author of the Chronicon Paschale cites as from Meliton's Apology, and which, from its having been given before he mentions the later date, would lead us, if there were two, to refer it to the former, seems to be sufficiently near to be almost identified with expressions found in the work before us, if we bear in mind, that it must necessarily have undergone some change in phraseology, by the translation out of Greek into Syriac, and also suppose it not to have been intended for an exact and verbatim quotation, but only as an allusion.

Judging merely from what we read in the Address itself, I should have been disposed to fix the date about four years earlier than that in which mention is first made of Meliton by the

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Αλλὰ καὶ Μελίτων 'Ασιανὸς, Σαρδιανῶν ἐπίσκοπος, βιβλίον ἀπολογίας ἔδωκεν τοῖς λελέγμενοις βασιλεῦσιν (Μάρκφ Αὐρηλίφ καὶ 'Αντωνίνφ Βήρφ), καὶ ἔτεροι δὲ πολλοὶ, ὧν ὁ δηλωθεὶς Ἰουστῖνος, κ.τ.λ.: p. 482. in the ccxxxvi. Olympiad. A. Mund. 5672: A.D. 164-65. edit. Dindorf. p. 482.

Chronicon Paschale, either to the end of 160, or the beginning of 161, a short time before the death of Antoninus Pius, and probably when his health had sensibly begun to decline. Unless, indeed, the expression be intended as generally applicable to every one whose father is still alive, the words "Be solicitous respecting thy father—so long as thy solicitude may be of avail to help him," would imply that Antoninus Pius was still surviving, although perhaps in a state to cause anxiety. the inscription, Marcus Antoninus is designated Cæsar, and not Autocrat, or Emperor. His being associated with Antoninus Pius, and taking a part in the administration of the empire, would be sufficient grounds for Meliton to address him; and in the words of the Apology cited by Eusebius, he alludes to the part which he took in the government: "During the time that thou also with him wast governing every thing." The prospect of his early succession to be the head of the state, might also have prompted Meliton to offer his opinion as to the surest means of governing a realm in peace—by knowing the truth, and living conformably thereto. At the end of the Address he refers to the children of Antoninus. Of these he had several, both sons and daughters.<sup>1</sup>

In forming an opinion from the internal evidence of the work, I cannot think with the Chevalier Bunsen, that "it bears the stamp of a late and confused composition." It seems certain, indeed, that the writer alludes most clearly to the Second Epistle of St. Peter; but inasmuch as I do not hold the same views as my very learned and dear friend respecting the authenticity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> His two sons, Commodus and Annius Verus, were made Cæsars upon the occasion of the triumph of Lucius Verus, A.D. 166. See Tillemont, *Hist. Emp.* vol. ii. p. 391.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See p. 50, and the note on the passage, p. 95 below.

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of that Epistle, I do not recognise, in the fact of its having been clearly alluded to in the work which we have now before us, any evidence of the "lateness" of the composition. As to the Address being "confused," it does not seem to me in this respect to differ in its method from the rest of the Apologies of the second century; with which, indeed, it has very many things in common, even to some evident mistakes, such as that of confounding the Egyptian god Serapis with the Patriarch Joseph. Some of the views of this writer as to the origin of Polytheism and idolatry in certain places are uncommon. They have probably been gathered from traditions at that time current in the East, but of which in these days very little is known.

I will not, however, pursue this subject further at present, but, committing the document into the hands of the reader, leave him to judge and draw his own conclusions for himself.

For an account of the other extracts attributed to Meliton, and the sources from which they have been gathered, I must refer to the notes in this volume.

#### AMBROSE.

The short work bearing the inscription of Hypomnemata, and attributed to Ambrose, a "chief man of Greece," is the same, with some modifications, as that known by the title of  $\Lambda \delta \gamma \sigma \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \sigma \sigma$ " Oratio ad Gentiles," which, in several copies, is attributed to Justin Martyr, and indeed has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M. Bunsen puts the following in the mouth of Hippolytus in his Apology: "You will, on your side, kindly abstain from quoting what you call the Second Epistle of St. Peter. I might have been induced to do so, in order to prove my theory about the coming of Antichrist, and the end of the world after 6000 years. But I could not in good conscience. The antient Churches did not know such a letter." Vol. iv. p. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See p. 43, and notes, p. 89.

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very generally received as his. Many, however, have doubted the authorship, and others have not hesitated to state their conviction that it bears internal evidence of being by a different hand from the undoubted work of Justin, The Dialogue, with Trypho the Jew. Assuming the authorship as it is given here to be correct, there seems to be an easy explanation why it might have come to be attributed to Justin, in the fact of its having been often classed in the same volume with his Apologies, which have in a great measure the same object in view; and thence having been supposed to be by Justin himself, a transition which the small bulk of the work may readily account for.

The Ambrose here mentioned as a chief man of Greece, and a senator, can hardly be understood to be any other than the friend and disciple of Origen, whom Epiphanius designates as one of those illustrious in the palaces of kings,<sup>2</sup> and whose wealth enabled him to supply his master with all the necessary expenses for completing his Hexaplar edition of the Scriptures,<sup>3</sup> and who also himself suffered martyrdom for the Christian faith. Certainly the inscription of this tract and its contents would well concur with what we know of Ambrose.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Oudin, Com. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 190. Otto classes it in his edition with Justin's Opera addubitata.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Άμβροσίω τινὶ των διαφανών έν αὐλαῖς βασιλικαῖς: see Panar. p. 526.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 23.

### MARA, SON OF SERAPION.

We have no information respecting this author beyond what is supplied in the letter itself addressed to his son. Mara, or as Assemani<sup>1</sup> writes it in Latin, Maras, is not an uncommon appellation amongst the Syrians, and there have been many who have borne the name of Serapion<sup>2</sup>.

The author speaks of himself as one whose city had been ruined, and himself also taken and detained as prisoner in bonds by the Romans, together with others whom the victors treated in a tyrannical manner, as distrustful of their fidelity to the Roman government. He describes the misery of his friends and companions belonging to the city of Samosata, and the distresses which he and they suffered when they joined themselves together on the road to Seleucia. He alludes to the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews as an act of divine vengeance for their having murdered Jesus; but he makes no direct mention of the name of Christ, and only designates him as the "wise king," who, although put to death, still lived in the "wise laws which he promulgated."

From these facts it is evident that the author wrote at a time when the Romans not long before had been making fresh conquests, or repressing rebellion in the parts of Syria about Samosata and Seleucia, and probably at a period when, on account of the persecution of the Christians, it would not have been prudent or safe to have spoken in more direct terms of Christ. Comagena and its capital Samosata were taken by the Romans in the reign of Vespasian, A.D. 72, or two years after the capture

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Bibl. Orient. vol. i. p. 643.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. vol. viii. p. 192.

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of Jerusalem by Titus.¹ About twenty-three years later the persecution under Domitian began, A.D. 95.² There would be nothing therefore incongruous in assigning, from its internal evidence, the date of this Epistle to the close of the first century. Nor would the allusion to the catastrophe of Samos at all militate against this, if it be referred to the earthquake in the reign of Augustus, from which several of the neighbouring islands also suffered.³

The mention, however, of that island having been covered with sand, as a punishment for the burning of Pythagoras, seems to me to have a direct reference to the Sibylline verses;"<sup>4</sup>

"Οττι βροτοὶ φαύλον ζωῆς ἀδίκουτ' ἐνέχοντο,
'Εσται καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος, ἐσεῖται δὲ Δῆλος ἄδηλος
Καὶ 'Ρώμη ῥύμη.<sup>5</sup> τὰ δὲ θέσφατα πάντα τελεῖται.

I cannot therefore, in my own mind, come to any other conclusion than that this Epistle ought to be assigned to a period when the Sibylline verses were frequently cited, the age of Justin Martyr, Meliton, and Tertullian. This date, too, will perhaps otherwise coincide quite as well with what is read in the letter as the former. The troubles to which the writer alludes as having befallen himself and his city will apply to those inflicted by the Romans upon the countries about the Tigris and Euphrates which had been excited to rebel against them

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, vol. ii. p. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Gale, Sibyll. Orac. p. 406.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 405.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lactantius alludes to this line: "Et vero cum caput illud orbis occideret, et  $\delta i \mu \eta$  esse cœperit, quod Sibyllæ fore aiunt," &c. Inst. Div. b. vii. p. 25.

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by Vologeses, in the Parthian war under the command of Lucius Verus, A.D. 162—165.¹ I have not found the name of Samosata especially mentioned as having suffered more than other cities in this war; but it is stated that Seleucia was sacked and burned by the Romans, and five or six thousand slain.² The persecution under Marcus Antoninus followed very close upon this war, and as these facts equally agree with the allusions made in this Epistle of Mara, it may perhaps be nearer the truth to assign its date to the latter half of the second century rather than to the close of the first.

If indeed such be the period at which this Letter was written, there is no improbability in supposing, that the Serapion, to whom it is addressed, may be the same as he who succeeded Maximinus<sup>3</sup> as eighth Bishop of Antioch, about the year 190, and who himself also wrote short epistles, similar to this in purpose and tendency, for which indeed his father's might have set him a pattern.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. vol. ii. p. 385.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 389.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. b. v. c. 19; and Cave's Histor. Litter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Jerome, De Viris Illus. c. xii. "Leguntur et sparsim ejus breves Epistolæ auctoris sui ἀσκήσει et vitæ congruentes." Dr. Routh has given all the remains of Serapion in his Reliq. Sacr. vol. i. p. 449.



### BARDESAN.

#### THE BOOK

OF THE

## LAWS OF COUNTRIES.

A few days ago we went up to visit Shemashgram, our brother. And Bardesan came and found us there; and when he had felt him, and seen that he was well, he asked us, "What were you talking about, for I heard your voice from without as I was coming in?" For he was accustomed, whenever he found us talking about any 5 thing before him, to ask us, "What were you saying?" that he might converse with us about it. We therefore said to him, "This Avida was saying to us: 'That if God be one, as you say, and He created mankind, and willeth that you should do that which you are commanded, why did He not create men so that they 10 should not be able to go wrong, but always should do what is good; for by this His will would be accomplished."

Bardesan saith to him, "Tell me, my son Avida, why dost thou think that the God of all is not one, or that He is one, and doth not will that men should conduct themselves holily and uprightly?" 15

Avida saith, "I, my Lord, asked these of my own age in order that they might give me a reply."

Bardesan saith to him, "If thou desirest to learn, it would be advantageous for thee, that thou shouldest learn from one who is older

than they: but if to teach, it is not requisite that thou shouldest question them, but that thou shouldest persuade them to ask thee what they desire. For teachers are usually asked, and do not themselves ask. And whenever they do put a question, it should be to direct the mind of the questioner so that he may ask properly, and they may know what his desire is. For it is a good thing that a man should know how to put questions."

Avida saith, "I am desirous of learning, but I began first to question these my brethren, because I was ashamed of asking thee."

Bardesan saith, "Thou speakest cleverly. Nevertheless know that he who putteth (2) his inquiries properly, and is willing to be convinced, and draweth near to the way of truth without obstinacy, needeth not be ashamed, because he will certainly give 15 pleasure to him to whom the inquiry is directed, by those things which I have mentioned. If therefore, my son, thou hast any thing in thy mind respecting this about which thou wast inquiring, tell it to us all; and if it please us also, we shall participate with thee; and if it please us not, necessity will compel us 20 to shew thee why it does not please us. And if thou wert only desiring to know this word, without having any thing in thy mind respecting it, as a man who has lately attached himself to the Disciples and is a recent inquirer, I will inform thee, in order that thou mayest not depart from us without profit; and if those 25 things which I tell thee please thee, we have also for thee other things respecting this matter, but if they please thee not, we for our part shall have spoken without any ill feeling."

Avida saith, "I even greatly desire to hear and to be convinced, because it is not from any other I have heard this word; but I have spoken it of my own mind to these my brethren, and they were not willing to convince me, but say, 'Believe really, and thou wilt be able to know every thing;' but I am not able to believe unless I be convinced."

Bardesan saith, "Not Avida alone is unwilling to believe, but 35 also many, because they have in them no faith, are not even able to be convinced, but always are pulling down and building up, and are found destitute of all knowledge of the truth. Nevertheless, because Avida is not willing to believe, lo! I will speak to you who do believe concerning this which he inquireth, and he will hear something more."

And he began to say to us, "There are many men who have 5 not faith, and have not received knowledge from the wisdom of the truth. And on this account they are not competent to speak and to instruct, and do not easily incline themselves to hear. For they have not the foundation of faith to build upon, and they have no confidence upon which they may hope And because they 10 also doubt respecting God, they likewise have not within them that fear of Him which would liberate them from all fears: for whose hath not the fear of God within him, he is subject to every For even with respect to that, (3) whatever it may be, which they do not believe, they are not sure that they properly disbe- 15 lieve; but they are unstable in their minds, and are not able to stand, and the taste of their thoughts is insipid in their mouth, and they are always timid and hasty and rash. But as to what Avida was saying, 'Why did not God create us so that we should not sin and be guilty?'—if man had been created 20 so, he would not have been for himself, but would have been the instrument of him who moved him; and it is known that whoso moveth as he chuseth he moveth him either to good or to evil. And how then would a man differ from a harp, upon which another playeth, or from a ship, which another steereth: but the praise and 25 the blame stand in the hand of the artist, and the harp itself knoweth not what is played upon it, nor the ship whether it be well steered and guided; but they are instruments which are made for the use of him who possesseth in himself the science. But God in his kindness did not will that he should create man so. But he 30 exalted him by Free-will above many things, and made him equal with the angels. For observe the sun and the moon and the sphere, and the rest of those creatures which are greater than we in some things, that there is not given to them Free-will of themselves, but they are all fixed by ordinance that they should do that 35 only which is ordained for them, and nothing else. For the sun

never saith, that I will not rise at my time; nor the moon, that I will not change, and not wane, and not increase; nor does any one of the stars say, that I will not rise, and I will not set; nor the sea, that I will not bear the ships, and I will not stand within my 5 bounds; nor the hills, that we will not continue in the places in which we are set; nor do the winds say that we will not blow; nor the earth, that I will not bear and sustain whatsoever is upon me: but all these things serve and are subject to one ordinance, for they are the instruments of the wisdom of God which erreth 10 not. For if every thing ministered, who would be he that is ministered unto; and if every thing were ministered unto, who would be he that ministered? And there would not be one thing differing from another. For that which is single and hath no difference in it, is a Being which up to this hour has not been 15 established. But those things, which are requisite for ministration, have been fixed in the power of man, because in the image (4) of Elohim he was created. On this account there has been given to him these things in kindness, that they might minister to him for a season; and it has been given to him to govern himself by his own will, and 20 that whatever he is able to do, if he will he should do it, and if he will not, he should not do it; and he should justify or condemn him-For if he had been made so that he would not be able to do evil by which he may be condemned, in the same manner also the good which he should do would not be his, and he would not be 25 able to be justified by it. For whose should not of his own will do that which is good or evil, his justification and his condemnation would stand in that Fortune for which he is created. On this account, let it be manifest to you, that the goodness of God has been great towards man, and that there has been given to him 30 Free-will more than to all those Elements of which we have been speaking; that by this same Free-will he may justify himself, and govern himself in a godlike manner, and associate with the angels, who also are possessed of Free-will for themselves; for we know, that even the angels, if they had not been possessed of 35 Free-will for themselves, would not have had intercourse with the daughters of men, and would not have sinned nor fallen from

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their places. And in the same manner therefore those others which did the will of their Lord, by their power over themselves were exalted and sanctified, and received mighty gifts. For every one that exists stands in need of the Lord of all; and there is no end to his gifts. But nevertheless know ye, that even those things 5 of which I have said that they stand by ordinance, are not entirely devoid of all freedom, and on this account at the last day they all shall be subject to judgment."

I say to him, "And how can those things which are fixed be judged?"

He saith to me, "Not in so far as they are fixed, oh, Philip, will the Elements be judged, but in so far as they have power; for Beings when they are set in order are not deprived of their natural property, but of their force of energy, being diminished by the mingling of one with another, and they are subdued by the 15 power of their Creator; and in so far as they are subject, they will not be judged, but in that which is their own."

Avida saith to him, "Those things which thou hast said are very good. But lo! the commandments which have been given to men are severe, and they are not able to perform them." (5)

Bardesan saith, "This is the answer of such an one as doth not desire to do that which is good; and more especially of him who has obeyed and submitted to his enemy. For men are not commanded to do any thing but what they are able to do. For there are two commandments set before us such as are 25 suitable and just for Free-will: one that we separate ourselves from every thing which is evil and which we should dislike to be done to ourselves; and the other that we should do that which is good and which we love, and desire that it should also be done to us likewise. What man, therefore, is there who is unable to 30 avoid stealing, or to avoid lying or committing adultery and fornication, or that he should be guilty of hatred and falsehood? For lo! all these things are subject to the mind of man, and it is not in the power of the body they are, but in the will of the soul. For even if a man be poor and sick and old, or impotent in his 35 limbs, he is able to avoid doing all these things; and as he is able to

avoid doing these things, so is he able to love, and to bless, and to speak the truth, and to pray for that which is good for every one whom he knoweth: and if he be in health and have the use of his hands, he is able too to give something of that which he hath; 5 also to support by the strength of body him who is sick and broken down, this too he is able to do. Who, therefore, it is that is not able to do what those devoid of faith murmur about, I know not. For I think, that it is in these commandments more than in any thing man has power. For they are 10 easy, and there is nothing that is able to hinder them. For we are not commanded to carry heavy burthens of stones, or of timber, or of any thing else, which those only who are powerful in body are able to do; nor that we should build fortresses and found cities, which kings only are able to do; nor 15 that we should steer ships, which mariners only are skilled in steering; nor that we should measure and divide the earth, which geometricians only know how to do; nor any one of those arts which some men possess, and the rest are devoid of them; but there has been given to us according to the goodness of God command-20 ments without grudging, such as every man who possesses a soul within him can do rejoicing; for there is no man who rejoiceth not when he doeth that which is good; nor is there any one who doth not delight within himself when he refraineth from wicked things, with the exception of those who were not made for this grace, and 25 are called Tares: for would not (6) that judge be unjust who should blame a man for such a thing as he is not able to do?"

Avida saith to him, "Respecting these deeds, oh Bardesan, sayest thou that they are easy to perform?"

Bardesan saith, "To him who desireth, I have said, and do say, that they are easy; for this is the good conduct of a free mind, and of that soul which hath not rebelled against its Governors. For there are many things which impede the action of the body, and more especially old age, and sickness, and poverty."

Avida saith, "Perchance a man may be able to avoid wicked things, but to do good things who among men is able?"

Bardesan saith, "It is more easy to do good than to abstain from

For the good is the man's own, and on this account he rejoiceth whenever he doeth good; but the evil is the operation of the enemy, and on this account, when a man is troubled and not sound in his nature, he doeth wicked things. For know, my son, that it is an easy thing for a man to praise and bless his 5 friend; but that a man should not blame and revile him that he hates is not easy. But nevertheless, this is possible to be; and whenever a man doeth that which is good, his mind is cheerful and his conscience tranquil, and he is pleased that every one should see what he does; but whenever a man acts wrongly, and committeth 10 an injury, he is agitated and troubled, and full of rage and anger, and is tormented in his soul and in his body: and when he standeth in this mind, he is not pleased to be seen by every one; and those things in which he rejoiceth, which even praise and blessing follow, are rejected by him; but upon those things by 15 which he is agitated and troubled followeth the curse of blame. But perhaps a man may say, that even fools are pleased when they do vile things:—but not in the doing of them, and not in being commended, and not for good hope; and this pleasure doth not continue with them. For the enjoyment which is in a 20 sound state for good hope is one; and the enjoyment in an For lust is one unhealthy state for bad hope is another. thing and love is another; and friendship is one thing and sodality another; and we ought plainly to understand that the unrestrained ardour of love is called lust, which (7) although there may 25 be in it enjoyment for a moment, nevertheless is far removed from that true love, whose enjoyment is for ever uncorruptible and indissoluble."

I say to him, "After this manner again was this Avida saying, 'That it is from his Nature man acteth wrongly; for if he had not 30 been formed naturally to do wrong, he would not do wrong."

Bardesan saith, "If all men did one deed and acted with the one mind, it would then be known that it was their Nature governed them, and they would not have the Free-will of which I spake to you. Nevertheless, in order that ye may understand what is 35 Nature and what is Free-will, I will proceed to inform you.

The Nature of man is this: that he should be born, and grow up, and rise in stature, and beget children, and grow old, by eating and by drinking, and sleeping, and waking, and that he should die. These because they are of Nature, belong to all 5 men, and not to all men only, but also to all animals which have a soul in them; and some of them also to trees. For this is a physical operation which performeth and produceth and establisheth every thing as it has been ordained. But Nature also is found to be maintained by animals too in their actions. For the 10 lion eateth flesh, by his Nature; and on this account all lions are eaters of flesh. And the sheep eateth grass; and for this reason all sheep are eaters of grass. And the bee maketh honey by which it sustains itself; for this reason all bees are honey-makers. And the ant layeth up for itself a store in summer, that it may sustain itself 15 from it in the winter; and for this reason all ants do likewise. And the scorpion striketh with its sting him who hath not hurt it; and so likewise all scorpions strike. And all animals maintain their Nature; and those which feed upon grass do not eat flesh; nor do those that feed upon flesh eat grass. But men are 20 not governed in this manner; but in the things belonging to their bodies they maintain their Nature like animals, and in the things

<sup>&</sup>quot;Κατὰ φύσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος γεννᾶται, τρέφεται, ἀκμαζει, γεννῷ, έσθίει, πίνει, κοιμάται, γηρά, ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τοῦτο παντὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ παντὸς ἀλόγου ζώου. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῷα ψυχικὰ όντα, καὶ διόλου κατὰ συμπλοκὴν γεγενημένα, διόλου σχεδὸν κατὰ φύσιν φέρεται. Λέων σαρκοφαγεῖ, καὶ ἀμύνεται εἴ τι ἀδικηθῆ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ λέοντες σαρκοφαγοῦσι καὶ ἀμύνονται. Καὶ άμνάδες χορτοφαγούσι, καὶ κρεών οὐχ ἄπτονται, καὶ ἀδικούμεναι οὐκ ἀμύνονται καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος πάσης ἀμνάδος. Σκορπίος γῆν έσθίει, καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσαντας ἀδικεῖ, κέντρω ἰοβόλω πλήσσων καὶ ή αὐτὴ κακία πάντων σκορπίων. Μύρμηξ κατὰ φύσιν οἶδε χειμώνος παρουσίαν, καὶ δι' όλης θερείας κάμνων, ἀποτίθεται έαυτῷ τροφάς καὶ ὁμοίως πάντες μύρμηκες ἐργάζονται. Μέλισσα μέλι γεωργεί, έξ οδ καὶ τρέφεται καὶ ή αὐτὴ γεωργία πάσαις μελίσσαις. Καὶ ἢν πολλὰ εἴδη ἐκθέσθαι ἡμῖν τῶν ζώων, ἄτινα τῆς φύσεως μη δυνάμενα έκστηναι, πολύν θαυμασμον παρασχείν ύμιν έδύνατο άλλ' αὐτάρκη ήγησάμην έκ τῶν παρακειμένων τὴν ἀπό-

which belong to their minds they do that which they wish, as being free and with power, and as the likeness of God: for there are some of them that eat flesh, and do not touch bread; and there are some of them that make a distinction in the eating of flesh; and there are some of them that do not eat the flesh of any animal in which there is a soul; and there are some of them that have connexion with their mothers, and with their sisters, and with their daughters; and there are some that never approach women at all; and there are some that avenge themselves like lions and like leopards; and there are some that injure him who has not done them any harm, like scorpions; and there are some that are led like sheep, and do not hurt those who govern them; and there are some who conduct themselves with virtue, and some

δειξιν ποιήσασθαι, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῷα κατὰ τὴν κοινότητα καὶ την διαφοράν κατά φύσιν δοθείσαν έκάστω έξ ἀνάγκης ήδέως φερεται, ἄνθρωποι δὲ μόνοι τὸ ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντες, τόν τε νοῦν καὶ τὸν έκ τούτου προφερόμενον λόγον, κατά μὲν τὴν κοινότητα ἔπονται τῆ φύσει, ώς προείπον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ έξαίρετον οὐ κατὰ φύσιν πολιτεύονται. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μία βρῶσις ἡ τῶν ἀπάντων ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς λέοντας τρέφονται, άλλοι δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀμνάδας οὐχ εν ἔχοντες σχημα φορημάτων, οὐκ έθος εν, οὐχ είς νόμος πολιτείας έν αὐτοῖς, οὐ μία κίνησις ἐπιθυμίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλ' ἕκαστος των ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὴν ιδίαν θέλησιν αίρεῖται έαυτῷ βίον, τὸν πλησίον μη μιμούμενος, πλην έν οίς βούλεται. Τὸ γὰρ ἐλεύθερον αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὑπόκειται δουλεία, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἑκὼν δουλεύσει, καὶ τοῦτο της έλευθερίας αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ, τὸ δύνασθαι δουλεύειν ἐκόντα. Πόσοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Άλαναίων, ὡς τὰ ἄγρια ζῷα, κρεοβοροῦσιν ἄρτου μὴ γευόμενοι, καὶ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν; "Αλλοι κρεῶν οὐ γεύονται, ώς τὰ ήμερα ζῷα" ἄλλοι ίχθυοφαγούσι μόνον έτεροι δὲ ἰχθύων οὐ γεύονται, οὐδ' ἂν λιμώσσωσιν. Οἱ μὲν ὑδροποτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ οἰνοποτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ σίκερα πίνουσι. Καὶ άπλῶς πολλή διαφορὰ βρωμάτων καὶ πομάτων ἐν τη ἀνθρωπότητι, μέχρι καὶ ἐν τῆ τῶν λαχάνων καὶ ὀπωρῶν βρώσει διαφερόμενοι. 'Αλλά καὶ οί μεν, ώς σκορπίοι καὶ ώς ἀσπίδες, μή άδικηθέντες άδικοῦσιν οἱ δὲ, ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα, ἀδικούμενοι ἀμύνονται. "Ετεροι δε, ώς λύκοι άρπάζουσι, καὶ ώς γαλαὶ κλέπτουσιν άλλοι δὲ ὡς ἀμνάδες καὶ μηκάδες ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοιοπαθῶν ἐλαύνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι καὶ οἱ μὲν λέγονται ἀγαθοὶ, οἱ

with righteousness, and some with vice. And if any one should say, they have each individually a Nature to do so, let him see that it is not so. For there are some who were fornicators and drunkards, and when the admonition of good counsels reached 5 them, they became chaste and temperate, and abandoned the lust of their bodies. And there are some who conducted themselves with chastity and temperance; and when they became negligent of right admonition, and despised the commands of the Deity, and of their instructors, fell from the way of truth, and became fornicators and prodigals; and there are some who repented again after their fall; and fear came upon them, and they returned to the truth in which they stood. What, then, is man's Nature? for lo! all men differ one from another in their conduct, and in their desires; and those who stood in one will and in one counsel resemble one another: but those men whose lust is enticing 15 them up to the present moment, and whose passion governs them, desire to attribute whatsoever they do wrong to their Creator; so that they themselves may be found without fault, and He who created them may be condemned by a vain plea; and they do not see that Nature has no law, for a man is not blamed 20 because he is tall in his stature or little, or white or black; or because his eyes be large or small; or for any one of the defects of the body: but he is blamed if he steal, or lie, or practise deceit, or poisoneth, or curseth, or doeth such things as are like these; for lo! from hence it is evident, that as to those things 25 which are not done by our hands, but which we have from Nature, we are not indeed condemned by these; neither by these are we justified; but those things which we do by our own Freewill, if they be good, by them we are justified and praised, and if they be wicked, by them we are condemned and blamed."

δὲ κακοὶ, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι. "Οθεν ἐστὶ νοεῖν, μὴ πάντως κατὰ φύσιν ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον (ποίαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐροῦμεν φύσιν;) ἀλλὰ πὴ μὲν φέρεται κατὰ φύσιν, πῆ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν. Διὸ τὸν ἔπαινον, καὶ τὸν ψόγον, καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ἔχει ἐν τοῖς κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει τὴν ἀνεγκλησίαν οὐ κατὰ ἔλεος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγον.

Again we asked him, and said to him, "There are others who say, that by the decree of Fortune men are governed, at one time wickedly, and at another time well."

He said to us, "I likewise, O Phillip and Baryama, know that there are men (9) who are called Chaldeans, and others who love 5 this knowledge of the art, as I also once loved it; for it has been said by me, in another place, that the soul of man is capable of knowing that which many do not know, and the same men meditate to do; and all that they do wrong, and all that they do good, and all the things which happen to them in riches and in poverty, and 10 in sickness and in health, and in defects of the body, it is from the influence of those Stars, which are called the Seven, they befal them, and they are governed by them. But there are others which say the opposite of these things,—how that this art is a lie of the Chaldeans, or that Fortune does not exist at all, but it is an empty name; 15 and all things are placed in the hands of man, great and small: and bodily defects and faults happen and befal him by chance. But others say that whatsoever a man doeth, he doeth of his own will, by the Free-will that has been given to him, and the faults and defects and evil things which happen to him, he receiveth as a punishment from God. But as for myself, in my humble opinion, it appeareth to me that these three sects are partly true, and partly They are true, because men speak after the fashion which they see, and because, also, men see how things happen to them, and mistake;—because the wisdom of God is richer than they, which 25 has established the worlds and created man, and has ordained the Governors, and has given to all things the power which is suitable for each one of them. But I say that God and the Angels, and the Powers, and the Governors, and the Elements, and men and animals have this power: but all these orders of which I have 30 spoken have not power given to them in everything. For he that is powerful in every thing is One; but they have power in some things, and in some things they have no power, as I have said: that the goodness of God may be seen in that in which they have power, and in that in which they have no power they may know 35 that they have a Lord. There is, therefore, Fortune, as the Chal-

deans say: but that every thing is not in our will is apparent from hence—that the majority of men have wished to be rich and to have power (10) over their fellows, and to be healthy in their bodies, and that things should be subject to them as they desire: yet wealth is 5 not found but with few; nor power, except with one here and there; nor health of body with all men; neither do those who are rich have entire possession of their riches; nor those who are in power have all things obedient to them as they wish: and sometimes they are disobedient in a manner which they do 10 not wish: and at one time the rich are wealthy as they desire, and at another time they become poor in a manner which they do not desire; and those who are perfectly poor dwell in a manner that they do not wish, and live in the world in a manner that they do not desire; and they covet things, and they flee from them. And many beget children, and do not bring them up; and others bring them up, and they do not inherit; and others inherit, and become a disgrace and an affliction: and others are rich as they wish, and have ill health as they do not wish; and others are healthy as they desire, and are poor as they do not desire. There are 20 some who have many of the things which they wish, and few of those which they do not wish; and there are some who have many of the things which they do not wish, and few of those which they do wish: and thus it is found, that riches, and honours, and health, and sickness, and children, and various objects of desire, are 25 placed under Fortune, and are not in our own power. But with such as are according as we wish, we are pleased and delighted; and towards such as we do not wish we are drawn by force. And from those things which befal us when we do not wish, it is evident, also, with respect to those things which we do wish, that it is not 30 because we wish them that they befal us, but that they happen as they do happen; and with some of them we are pleased and with some not. And we men are found to be governed by Nature equally, and by Fortune differently, and by our Free-will each as he wishes.

35 "But let us speak now, and shew with respect to Fortune, that it has not power over every thing; for this very thing itself

which is called Fortune is an order of procession which is given to the Powers and the Elements by God; and according to this procession and order, intelligences are changed by their coming down to be with the soul, and souls are changed by their coming down to be with the body: and this alternation itself is called the 5 Fortune, and the Nativity of this assemblage, which is being sifted and purified, for the assistance of that which by the favour of God and by grace (11) has been assisted, and is being assisted, till the consummation of all. The body, therefore, is governed by Nature, the soul also suffering with it and perceiving; and the body is not con- 10 strained nor assisted by Fortune in all the things which it does individually; for a man does not become a father before fifteen years, nor does a woman become a mother before thirteen years. And in the same manner, also, there is a law for old age; because women become effete from bearing, and men are deprived of the 15 natural power of begetting; while other animals which are also governed by their own Nature, before those ages which I have specified, not only procreate, but also become too old to procreate, in the same manner as also the bodies of men when they are grown old do not procreate; nor is Fortune able to give them children at that time at which the body has not the Nature to give them. Neither, again, is Fortune able to preserve the body of man in life, without eating and without drinking; nor even when it has meat and drink, to prevent it from dying, for these and many other things pertain to Nature itself; but when the times and 20 manners of Nature are fulfilled, then comes Fortune apparent among these, and effecteth things that are distinct one from another; and at one time assists Nature and increases, and at another hinders it and hurts; and from Nature cometh the growth and perfection of the body; but apart from Nature and by Fortune 30 come sicknesses and defects in the body. From Nature is the connexion of males and females, and the pleasure of the both heads; but from Fortune comes abomination and a different manner of connexion, and all the filthiness and indecency which men do for the cause of connexion through their lust. From Nature is birth and 35 children; and from Fortune sometimes the children are deformed;

and sometimes they are cast away, and sometimes they die untimely. From Nature there is a sufficiency in moderation for all bodies; and from Fortune comes the want of food, and affliction of the bodies; and thus, again, from the same Fortune'is gluttony and 5 extravagance which is not requisite. Nature ordains that old men should be judges for the young, and wise for the foolish; and that the valiant should be chiefs over the weak, and the brave over the timid. But Fortune causeth that boys should be chiefs over the aged, and fools over the wise; and that in time of war the 10 weak should govern the valiant, and the timid the brave. (12) And know ye distinctly that, whenever Nature is disturbed from its right course, its disturbance is from the cause of Fortune, because those Heads and Governors, upon whom that alternation is which is called Nativity, are in opposition one to the other. And those of 15 them which are called Right, they assist Nature, and add to its excellency, whenever the procession helps them, and they stand in the high places, which are in the sphere, in their own portions; and those which are called Left are evil: and whenever they, too, occupy the places of height, they are opposed to Nature, and not 20 only injure men, but, at different times, also animals, and trees and fruits, and the produce of the year, and the fountains of water, and every thing that is in the Nature which is under their control. And on account of these divisions and sects which exist among the Powers, some men have supposed that the world is governed with-25 out any superintendence, because they do not know that these sects and divisions and justification and condemnation proceed from that influence which is given in Free-will by God, that those actors also by the power of themselves may either be justified or condemned: as we see that Fortune crushes Nature, so we can also see the Free-30 will of man repelling and crushing Fortune itself: but not in every thing, as also Fortune itself doth not repel Nature in everything; for it is proper that the three things, Nature and Fortune and Freewill, should be maintained in their lives until the procession be accomplished, and the measure and number be fulfilled, as it seemed good before Him who ordained how should be the life and perfection of all creatures, and the state of all Beings and Natures."

Avida saith, "That it is not from his Nature a man doeth wrong 5 I am persuaded by those things which thou hast shewed, and that all men are not governed equally. But if thou art also able to shew this, that it is not from Fortune and Fate those act wrongly who do act wrongly, then it will be right to believe, that man holds his own Free-will, and by his Nature is brought near to 10 those things which be good, and warned from the things which are wicked, and on this account he will also justly be judged in the last day."

Bardesan saith, "From this, that men are not equally governed,

(13) art thou persuaded that it is not from their Nature they act

wrongly? Therefore the matter constrains thee to believe that neither also from their Fortune do they altogether act wrongly, if
we be able to shew thee that the decree of the Fortunes and the

Powers does not move all men equally, but we have Free-will in
ourselves to avoid serving Physical nature and being moved by

20
the control of the Powers."

Avida saith, "Prove me this, and I will be convinced by thee, and whatever thou shalt charge me I will do."

Bardesan saith, "Have you read the books of the Chaldeans which are in Babylon, in which are written what the stars effect by 25 their associations at the Nativities of men? And the books of the Egyptians, in which are written all the modes which happen to men?"

Avida saith, "I have read the books of Chaldeism, but I do not know which belong to the Babylonians and which to the Egyptians."

Bardesan saith, "The doctrine of both countries is the same." 30 Avida saith, "It is known that it is so."

Bardesan saith, "Hear now and understand, that it is not what the stars decree in their Fortune and in their portions, that all men equally do who are in all the earth;

for men have established laws in different places, by that Free-will which has been given to them by God. Because the gift itself is opposed to that Fortune of the Powers, which assume for themselves that which has not been given to them. I will begin to speak so far as I remember from the east, the head of the whole world.

"The Laws of the Seres. The Seres have laws that they should not kill, and not commit fornication, and not worship idols; and in the whole country of the Seres there are no idols, nor harlots, who killeth a man, nor who is killed; while they too are born at all hours, and upon all days. And Mars the fierce, when he is placed in the midst of the heavens, doth not force the Free-will of the Seres that a man should shed the blood of his neighbour with a weapon of iron. Nor does Venus, when she is placed with Mars, force any one of the men of the Seres that he should have connexion with his neighbour's wife, or with another

"Νόμους ἔθεντο διαφόρους οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἑκάστη χώρα, τινὰς γεγραμμένους, τινὰς δὲ ἀγράφους ἐξ ὧν διηγήσομαι, ὡς οἶδα, καὶ ὧν μέμνημαι, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀρχῆς.

Νόμος ἐστὶ παρὰ Σήραις μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε πορνεύειν, μήτε κλέπτειν, μήτε ξόανα προσκυνεῖν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνη τῆ μεγίστη χώρα οὐ ναόν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, οὐ γυναῖκα πορνικὴν, οὐ μοιχαλίδα ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ κλέπτην ἐλκόμενον ἐπὶ δίκην, οὐκ ἀνδροφόνον, οὐ πεφονευμένον. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἠνάγκασεν ὁ τοῦ πυριλαμπέος "Αρεος ἀστὴρ μεσουρανῶν ἄνδρα σιδήρω ἀνελεῖν, οὐ Κύπρις σὺν "Αρει τυχοῦσα ἀλλοτρία γυναικὶ μιγῆναί τινα παρ' ἐκείνοις, πάντως πάση ἡμέρα μεσουρανοῦντος τοῦ "Αρεος, καὶ πάση ὥρα καὶ ἡμέρα γεννωμένων τῶν Σηρῶν.

Παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Βάκτροις εἰσὶ χιλιάδες πολλαὶ τῶν λεγομένων Βραχμάνων, οἵτινες κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν προγόνων
καὶ νόμων οὕτε φονεύουσιν, οὕτε ξόανα σέβονται, οὖκ ἐμψύχου
γεύονται, οὖ μεθύσκονταί ποτε, οἴνου καὶ σίκερος μὴ γευόμενοι,
οὖ κακία τινὶ κοινωνοῦσι προσέχοντες τῷ Θεῷ, τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν
φονευόντων, καὶ ἑταιρευόντων, καὶ μεθυσκομένων, καὶ σεβομένων ξόανα, καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν καθ' εἰμαρμένην φερομένων. "Εστι

woman; but rich and poor, and sick and healthy, and rulers (14) and subjects, are there: because these things are given to the power of the Governors.

"Laws of the Brahmins which are in India. Again, among the Indians, the Brahmins, among whom there are many thousands 5 and tens of thousands, have a law that they should not kill at all, and not revere idols, and not commit fornication, and not eat flesh, and not drink wine; and among them not one of these things takes place. And there are thousands of years to these men, lo! 10 since they govern themselves by this law which they have made for themselves. Another Law which is in India. And there is another law in India, and in the same Clime, belonging to those, which are not of the family of the Brahmins, nor of their doctrine; that they should serve idols, and commit fornication, and kill, and 15 do other abominable things, which do not please the Brahmins.

Leges sunt in unaquaque regione vel regno ab hominibus positæ, sive scriptura sive etiam usu durantes, quas nemo facile transgreditur.

Denique primi Seres, qui initio orbis terræ habitant, legem habent neque homicidium neque adulterium neque scortum nosse, neque furtum committere, neque idola venerari, et in illa omni regione quæ est maxima, neque templum invenitur neque simulacrum neque meretrix neque adultera, neque fur ad judicium deducitur, sed neque occisus ibi homo fertur aliquando, et tamen nullius libertas arbitrii compulsa est secundum vos a stella Martis ignita, ut ferro uteretur ad hominis necem, nec Venus cum Marte posita alienum matrimonium compulit vitiari, cum utique apud eos per singulos dies Mars medium cœli circulum teneat. Sed est apud Seres legum metus vehementior quam Genesis constellatio.

Sunt similiter et apud Bactros in regionibus Indorum immensæ multitudines Bragmanorum, qui et ipsi ex traditione majorum, moribus legibusque concordibus, neque homicidium neque adulterium committunt, neque simulacra colunt neque animantia edere in usu habent, nunquam inebriantur, nunquam malitiose aliquid gerunt, sed deum semper timent; et quidem hæc illi, cum cæteri Indorum et homicidia et adulteria committant, et simulacra colant, et inebrientur, atque alia

And in the same Clime of India there are men that by custom eat the flesh of men in the same manner as the rest of the nations eat the flesh of animals. But the evil stars have not forced the Brahmins to do evil and abominable things; nor have the good stars persuaded the rest of the Hindoos to abstain from evil things; nor have those stars which are well arranged in the places which it is proper for them, and in the signs of Zodiac which relate to humanity, persuaded those who eat the flesh of men to abstain from using this abominable and odious food.

"Laws of the Persians. And, again, the Persians have made laws for themselves that they may take for wives their sisters, and their daughters, and their daughters' daughters; and there are some that go further, and take even their mothers. Of these same Persians some have been scattered, and are in Media and the country of Parthia, and in Egypt, and in

δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλίματι τῆς Ἰνδίας φυλή τις Ἰνδῶν, οἵτινες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ξένους ἀγρεύοντες καὶ τούτους θύοντες ἐσθίουσι· καὶ οὕτε οἱ ἀγαθοποιοὶ τῶν ἄστρων κεκωλύκασι τούτους μὴ μιαιφονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀθεμιτογαμεῖν, οὕτε οἱ κακοποιοὶ ἡνάγκασαν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας κακουργεῖν.

Παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμος ἢν, γαμεῖν τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς καὶ τὰς μητέρας καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τἢ χώρα ἐκείνη καὶ ἐν ἐκείνω τῷ κλίματι τούτους τοὺς ἀνοσίους γάμους οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν τῆς Περσίδος ἐξεδήμησαν, οἵτινες καλοῦνται Μαγουσαῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀθεμιστίαν διαπράττονται, παραδιδόντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἔθη τοῖς τέκνοις κατὰ διαδοχήν. Ἐξ ὧν εἰσὶ μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ ἐν Μηδία, καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτω, καὶ ἐν Φρυγία, καὶ ἐν Γαλατία. Καὶ οὐ δήπου Κύπρις ἐν ὁρίοις καὶ οἴκοις Κρόνου, σὺν Κρόνω ἐφομαρτοῦντος τοῦ "Αρεος ἐν ταῖς τῶν πάντων γενέσεσιν εὐρίσκετο.

Παρὰ Γήλοις νόμος ἐστὶ, τὰς γυναῖκας γεωργεῖν, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργατικὰ πράσσειν, καὶ κοινωνεῖν οῖς ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, μήτε καλεῖσθαί
τινα μοιχαλίδα, τῷ πάσας ἐργατικὰς εἶναι, καὶ πᾶσι κοινωνεῖν,
μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ξένοις. Καὶ οὔτε μυρίζονται Γήλισσαι γυναῖκες,
οὐχ ἱμάτια βαπτὰ φοροῦσιν, ἀνυπόδητοι δέ εἰσι πᾶσαι, καίτοι τῶν

Phrygia, and they are called Magi; and in all countries and Climes in which they are, they govern themselves by this law which was established for their fathers; but we cannot say that for all the Magi and the rest of the Persians, Venus was placed with the Moon, and with Saturn in the mansion of Saturn 5 in his portions, while Mars witnessed them. And there are many places in the kingdom of the Parthians where men kill their wives, and their brethren, and their children, and incur no vengeance; while among the Romans and the Greeks, whoso killeth one of these incurreth capital punishment, the greatest of vengeance. 10

"Laws of the Geli. Among the Geli the women sow and reap, and build, and perform all the things of labourers, and do not wear dresses of colours: nor do they put on shoes, nor use sweet ointments; neither does any one blame them when they commit adultery with strangers, or when they have connexion 15

hujusmodi flagitia exerceant. Sed et in ipsius Indiæ nihilominus occiduis partibus regio quædam est, ubi hospites cum inciderint, capti immolantur et comeduntur: et neque bonæ stellæ vetuerunt eos ab hujusmodi flagitiis et ab exsecrandis cibis, neque malignæ stellæ compulerunt Bragmanas, ut aliquid agerent mali.

Est rursus mos apud Persas, matres accipere in conjugium et sorores et filias, et sub illo omni axe incesta Persæ ineunt matrimonia. Ac ne forte liceat his qui mathesim sequuntur uti illo perfugio quo dicunt, certas quasdam esse plagas cœli, quibus propria quædam habere conceditur, ex ipsa Persarum gente aliquanti ad peregrina profecti sunt, qui Magusæi appellantur, ex quibus usque in hodiernum sunt alii in Media, alii in Parthia, sed et in Ægypto nonnulli, plures autem in Galatia et Phrygia, qui omnes incestæ hujus traditionis formam indeclinabilem servant, ac posteris custodiendam transmittunt etiam cum plagam cœli mutaverint: nec tamen eos Venus cum Luna in finibus et domibus Saturni, cum Saturno adtestante etiam Marte, compulit habere inter cæteros Genesim.

Apud Gelos quoque mos est, ut mulieres agricolentur, ædificent, et omne opus virile perficiant, sed et misceri quibus volunt licet, nec incusantur a viris aut adulteræ appellantur, passim enim concubitus

with the slaves of their houses; but their husbands, the Geli, put on garments of colours, and ornament themselves with gold and jewels, and anoint themselves with sweet unguents; nor is it on account of effeminacy they conduct themselves so, but on account of a law which is established among them; and all the men are lovers of hunting, and makers of war: but we cannot say that, for all the women of the Geli, Venus was placed in Capricorn, or in Aquarius, in a place of ill-luck; nor for all the Geli is it possible for us to say that Mars and Venus were placed in Aries, where it is written that vigorous and lascivious men are born.

Γήλων ἀνδρῶν κοσμουμένων ἐν φορήμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ ἐν διαφόροις χρώμασι, καὶ χρυσοφορούντων, καὶ μυριζομένων καὶ οὐ κατά τινα ἄλλην μαλακίαν, εἰσὶ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖοι, καὶ πολεμικώτατοι, καὶ κυνηγετικώτατοι. Καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν Γήλων γυναῖκες ἔλαχον ἐν Αἰγοκέρωτι ἢ ἐν Ὑδρηχόω κακοδαιμονοῦσαν τὴν Κύπριν οὐθ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν πάντες ἔχουσιν ἐν Κριῷ σὺν Ἄρει τὴν Παφίην, ἔνθα τοὺς ἀνδρείους καὶ σπατάλους οἱ Χαλδαίζοντες λέγουσι.

Παρὰ Βάκτροις αἱ γυναῖκες παντὶ κόσμῳ διαφέροντι καὶ παντὶ μύρῳ χρῶνται, ὑπηρετούμεναι ὑπὸ παιδίσκων καὶ νεανίσκων μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες προερχόμεναι μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας ἔφιπποι, κοσμοῦσαι πολλῷ χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις βαρυτίμοις τοὺς ἵππους. Καὶ οὐ σωφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλὶ ἀδιαφόρως κοινωνοῦσι τοῖς δούλοις καὶ τοῖς ξένοις, ἄδειαν ἔχουσαι τοιαύτην, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν μὴ ἐγκαλούμεναι, σχεδὸν κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν. Καὶ οὐ πάντως ἐν πάση γενέσει τῶν ἐν Βακτρίą γυναικῶν μεσουρανεῖ μετὰ Διὸς καὶ "Αρεος ἐν ἰδίοις ὅροις ἡ φιλόγελως ἀφροδίτη.

'Εν δὲ τῆ Άραβία, καὶ τῆ 'Οσροηνῆ, οὐ μόνον αἱ μοιχαλίδες φονεύονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ὑποπτευόμεναι οὐκ ἀφίενται ἀτιμώρητοι.

Παρὰ Πάρθοις καὶ Άρμενίοις οἱ φονεῖς ἀναιροῦνται, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' αἷμα τῶν φονευθέντων. Καὶ ἐάν τις φονεύση γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἄτεκνον, ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἄγαμον, ἢ υίὸν, ἢ θυγατέρα, οὐκ ἐγκαλεῖται ὑπό τινος, νόμου τοιούτου ὑπ-άρχοντος ἐν ταῖς χωραις ἐκείναις παρ' Έλλησι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μείζονι τιμωρία ὑποβάλλονται οἱ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν φονευταί.

"The Laws of the Bactrians. Amongst the Bactrians, which are called Cashani, the women adorn themselves with the goodly raiment of the men, and with much gold and goodly jewels; and their male and female slaves minister to them more than to their husbands; and they ride horses; and some adorn themselves with 5 vestments of gold and with precious stones. And these women do not observe chastity, but have connexion with their slaves, and with strangers which come to that country, and their husbands do not blame them; and they have no fear, because the Cashani esteem their wives as mistresses; but we cannot say that, for 10 all the Bactrian women, Venus is placed, and Mars, and Jupiter, in the mansion of Mars in the midst of the heavens, where women that are rich, and adulterers, and keep under their husbands in every thing, are born.

"The Laws of the Racami, and of the Edesseans, and the 15 Arabians. Amongst the Racami, and the Edesseans, and the Arabians, not only is she that committeth adultery put to death, but she also, that has the name of adultery against her, has capital punishment.

miscent et præcipue cum hospitibus, unguenta nesciunt, non induuntur veste fucata, non calceis; e contra viri Gelonum ornantur, pectuntur, indumentis mollibus et variis induuntur, auro compositi unguentisque delibuti, et hæc non pro dissolutione virium, sunt enim bellicosissimi et venatores acerrimi: nec tamen universæ Gelonum mulieres, in Capræcornu aut Aquario cacodæmonem Venerem nascentes habuere, neque viri eorum in Ariete cum Marte Venerem positam, per quod schema effeminatos et dissolutos nasci adserit viros Chaldaica disciplina.

Porro vero in Susis mulieres unguentis et quidem optimis utuntur, ornamentis comtæ ex lapidibus preciosis, ministeriis quoque ancillarum fultæ procedunt multo majore ambitione quam viri, nec tamen pudicitiam colunt, sed indifferens eis cum quibuscunque voluerint usus est et servis et hospitibus, tali licentia a viris permissa; et non solum non culpantur pro hoc, sed et dominantur in viros. Nec tamen omnium Genesis mulierum Susidarum in medietate cœli cum Jove et Marte Venerem in Jovis domibus habent.

15

"The Laws in Hatra. There is a law established in Hatra that whosoever committeth the small crime of a theft even of little value should be stoned. Amongst the Cashani, whoso committed such a theft as this, they spit in his face. Amongst the Romans, whoso committeth a little theft is scourged and dismissed. On the other side the Euphrates, and towards the East, he who is reviled either as a thief or as a murderer, does not feel very angry; but if a man be reviled as an arsenocœte, he then avenges himself even to the putting to death.

"Laws of (16) \* \* \* boys \* and are not \* \* Again, in all the country of the East, those who have been insulted, and are known, their fathers and their brothers kill them, and oftentimes they do not even make known their graves.

"Laws of the Orientals. But in the north, and in the country of the Germans, and those that are near to them, such boys among them as are handsome become as wives to the men, and they

Έν Ἄτροις ὁ κλέπτων τι ὀβολοῦ ἄξιον λιθάζεται παρὰ Βάκτροις ὁ ὀλίγα κλέπτων ἐμπτύεται, παρὰ 'Ρωμαίοις πληγαῖς αἰκίζεται τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ νόμοι. 'Απὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς, ὁ λοιδορούμενος ὡς φονεὺς, ἢ ὡς κλέπτης, οὐ πάνυ ἀγανακτεῖ ὁ δὲ ὡς ἀρσενοκοίτης λοιδορούμενος, ἑαυτὸν ἐκδικεῖ μέχρι καὶ φόνου.

Παρ' Έλλησι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐρωμένους ἔχοντες οὐ ψέγονται. Ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ ἀνατολῆ ὑβριζόμενοι, ἐὰν γνωσθῶσιν, ὑπὸ ἀδελφῶν, ἢ πατέρων καὶ συγγενῶν φονεύονται, καὶ ταφῆς προδήλου οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται.

Παρὰ δὲ Γάλλοις οἱ νέοι γαμοῦνται μετὰ παρρησίας, οὐ ψόγον τοῦτο ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμον. Καὶ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστι πάντας τοὺς ἐν Γαλλία οὕτως ἀθέως ὑβριζομένους λαχεῖν ἐν ταῖς γενέσεσι Φωσφόρον μεθ' Ἑρμοῦ, ἐν οἴκοις Κρόνου καὶ ὁρίοις "Αρεος δύνοντα.

Έν Βρεττανία πολλοὶ ἄνδρες μίαν γυναῖκα ἔχουσιν ἐν δὲ τῆ Παρθία, πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ἕνα ἄνδρα, καὶ πᾶσαι σωφρονοῦσι πειθόμεναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

Αί δὲ ἀμαζόνες πᾶσαι ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα, ἄπαξ τοῦ ἔτους περὶ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ὑπερβαίνουσαι τοὺς ἰδίους ὅρους κοινωνοῦσι τοῖς πλησιοχώροις, ἑορτήν τινα ταύτην

have also marriage-feasts; and this is not considered by them as a disgrace, nor as a reproach, on account of a law which they have: but it is not possible that all those that are in Gallia, who are disgraced by this disgrace, should have at their nativity Mercury placed for them with Venus, in the mansion of Saturn, and in the 5 limits of Mars, and in the signs of the Zodiac at the west. For respecting those men who have their nativity thus, it is written that they are disgraced as women.

- "Laws of the Britons. Amongst the Britons many men take one wife.
- "Laws of the Parthians. And amongst the Parthians one man takes many wives, and all of these are obedient to his command in chastity, on account of a law which is established there in the country.
- "Laws of the Amazons. As to the Amazons, all of them, the entire nation, have no husbands, but, like beasts, once in the year, at the season of spring, they go out from their coasts, and pass the river, and when they are over they make a great festival on the mountain, and the men from those quarters come, and abide with them fourteen days, and have intercourse with them, and they become 20 pregnant by them, and then pass again to their own country; and at the time of birth such as are males, they expose, and bring up the

In ulterioribus Orientis partibus, si puer muliebri se substernat injuriæ, cum agnitum fuerit, a fratribus aut parentibus vel quibuslibet proximis interficitur, nec sepultura donatur.

Et rursus apud Gallos lex prisca constituit nuptum tradi publice pueros, nec opprobrium ex hoc aliquod duci; et numquid possibile est, ut omnes qui tam turpiter succumbunt apud Gallos, Luciferum cum Mercurio in domibus Saturni et finibus Martis habuerint?

In Britanniæ partibus plures viri unam habent uxorem, in Parthia multæ mulieres unum habent virum, et utraque orbis pars moribus suis atque institutis obsequitur.

Amazones omnes non habent viros, sed sicut animalia semel in anno circa vernale æquinoctium proprios egressæ terminos, finitimæ gentis viris miscentur, solennitatem quandam per hoc observantes, ex quibus cum conceperint redeunt, et si marem pepererint abjiciunt, feminas

females: and it is a known thing, that according as Nature ordains, because they all become pregnant in one month, they also are delivered in one month, a little more and a little less; and as we have heard, all of them are vigorous and warlike: but not 5 one of the stars is able to help all those males, which are born, from being exposed."

"Book of the Chaldeans. It is written in the Book of the Chaldeans, that whenever Mercury is placed with Venus in the mansion of Mercury, it produceth painters and sculptors, and money-changers; but when they are in the mansion of Venus, they produce perfumers, and dancers, and singers, and poets. And in all the country of the Tayites and of the Saracens, (17) and in Upper Lybia, and amongst the Mauritanians, and in the country of the Nomades, which is at the mouth of the ocean, and in outer Germania, and in Upper Sarmatia, and in Hispania, and in all ήγουμένοις ἐξ ὧν συλλαμβάνουσαι ὑποστρέφουσι, καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ ἀποκυΐσκουσι κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, καὶ

ήγουμένοις έξ ων συλλαμβάνουσαι υποστρέφουσι, καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ ἀποκυΐσκουσι κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν γεννωμένους ἄρρενας ῥίπτουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλείας ἀνατρέφουσι πολεμικαί τέ εἰσι, καὶ γυμνασίων προνοούμεναι.

Έρμης μετὰ ᾿Αφροδίτης ἐν οἴκοις Ἑρμοῦ ποιεῖ πλάστας, καὶ ζωγράφους, καὶ τραπεζίτας ἐν οἴκοις δὲ ᾿Αφροδίτης μυρεψούς, ή φωνάσκους καὶ ὑποκριτὰς ποιημάτων. Καὶ παρὰ Ταϊνοῖς καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀνωτέρα Λιβύη, καὶ παρὰ Μαύροις, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παρὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ᾿Ωκεανοῦ Νομάσι, καὶ ἐν τῆ έξωτέρα Γερμανία, καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀνωτέρα Σαρματία, καὶ ἐν τῆ Σκυθία, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ Άρκτικῶν μερῶν τοῦ Πόντου ἔθνεσι, καὶ ὅλη τῆ 'Αλανία, καὶ 'Αλβανία, καὶ 'Ωτηνῆ καὶ Σαυνία, καὶ ἐν Χρυσῆ, οὐκ έστιν ίδειν οὐ τραπεζίτην, οὐ πλάστην, οὐ ζωγράφον, οὐκ ἀρχιτέκτονα, οὐ γεωμέτρην, οὐ φώνασκον, οὐχ ὑποκριτὴν ποιημάτων, ἀλλ' έστέρηται ὁ τῆς τοῦ Ερμοῦ καὶ τῆς Αφροδίτης ἐνεργείας τρόπος ἐν όλφ τῷ κύκλφ τούτφ τῆς οἰκουμένης. Οἱ Μῆδοι πάντες τοῖς μετὰ σπουδής τρεφομένοις κυσὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας παραβάλλουσι καὶ οὐ πάντες σὺν τῆ Μήνη τὸν "Αρεα ἐφ' ἡμερινῆς γενέσεως έν Καρκίνω ύπὸ γῆν ἔχουσιν. 'Ινδοὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καίουσι, μεθ' ὧν συγκαίουσιν έκούσας τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ οὐ δήπου πᾶσαι αἱ καίομεναι ζώσαι Ίνδών γυναίκες έχουσιν ύπὸ γῆν ἐπὶ νυκτερινῆς γενέσεως

the countries which are to the north of Pontus, and in all the country of the Alanians, and amongst the Albanians, and amongst the Zazi, and in Brusa which is beyond the Duro, one seeth not either sculptors, nor painters, nor perfumers, nor moneychangers, nor poets. But this decree of Mercury and Venus is 5 inhibited from the circumference of the whole world. In the whole of Media, all men when they die, even while life is still remaining in them, are cast to the dogs, and the dogs eat the dead of the whole of Media; but we cannot say that all the Medians are born while the Moon is placed for them with Mars in 10 Cancer during the day below the Earth: for thus it is written that those whom the dogs eat are born. The Hindoos, all of them when they die are burnt with fire, and many of their wives are burnt with them alive; but we cannot say, that all those women of the Hindoos which are burnt had at their nativity 15 Mars and the Sun placed in Leo in the night below the Earth, as those men are born which are burnt with fire. All the Germans

nutriunt. Cumque unius temporis sit omnium partus, absurdum est, ut in maribus quidem putetur Mars cum Saturno in tempore æquis esse portionibus, in feminarum vero Genesi nunquam.

Sed neque Mercurium cum Venere habuisse in domibus propriis positum, ut vel pictores ibi vel sculptores vel trapezitas efficiat, aut in domibus Veneris, ut unguentarios vel vocales vel poetas producat. Apud Sarracenos et superiores Libes et Mauros et circa ora maris Oceani habitantes, sed et in extremis Germaniæ partibus et apud Sarmatas et Scythas atque omnes quæ sub axe septentrionis jacent Pontici littoris gentes, et in Chrysea insula, nunquam invenitur trapezita, nec sculptor, aut pictor, aut architectus, aut geometres, aut tragædus, aut poeta; ergo deficit apud eos Mercurii Venerisque constellatio. Ex omni orbe terrarum Medi tantummodo summa observantia adhuc spirantes homines canibus devorandos abjiciunt, et non ob hoc Martem cum Luna per diurnam Genesim in Cancro positos habent. Indi mortuos suos incendunt, cum quibus et uxores defunctorum sponte se offerentes exuruntur. Sed non ideo omnes quæ vivæ incenduntur Indorum mulieres, in nocturna Genesi sub terra habent Solem cum Marte

die by suffocation, except those which are killed in battle; and it is not possible that at the nativity of all the Germans the Moon and Hora should have been placed between Mars and Saturn. But, in all places, every day and at all hours, men are born in nativities which are distinct one from the other, and the laws of men overcome the Decree, and they govern themselves according to their customs; and Fortune does not compel the Seres to kill at all when they do not wish; nor the Brahmins to eat flesh; nor restrain the Persians from marrying their daughters and their sisters; nor the Hindoos from being burnt; nor the Medians from being devoured by dogs; nor the Parthians from taking many wives; nor the Britons from many men taking one wife; nor the

σὺν "Αρει τὸν" Ηλιον ἐν Λέοντι ὁρίοις "Αρεος. Γερμανῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι άγχονιμαίω μόρω άποθνήσκουσι, καὶ οὐ πάντως τὸ πλήθος των Γερμανῶν τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὴν ὥραν μεσολαβουμένας ὑπὸ Κρόνου καὶ "Αρεος έχει. Παντὶ έθνει, καὶ πάση ἡμέρα καὶ παντὶ τόπω τῆς γενέσεως γεννώνται άνθρωποι κρατεί δὲ ἐν ἑκάστη μοίρα των ἀνθρώπων νόμος καὶ ἔθος διὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὐκ άναγκάζει ή γένεσις τοὺς Σήρας μὴ θέλοντας φονεύειν, ἢ τοὺς Βραχμάνας κρεοφαγείν, η τους Πέρσας άθεμίτως μη γαμείν, η τους 'Ινδούς μὴ καίεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς Μήδους μὴ ἐσθίεσθαι ὑπὸ κυνῶν, ἢ τοὺς Πάρθους μὴ πολυγαμεῖν, ἢ τὰς ἐν τῷ Μεσοποταμία γυναῖκας μη σωφρονείν, η τους Ελληνας μη γυμνάζεσθαι γυμνοίς τοις σάμασιν, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κρατεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Γάλλους μὴ γαμεῖσθαι, η τὰ ἄλλα βάρβαρα ἔθνη ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγομέναις Μούσαις κοινωνείν ἀλλ', ώς προείπον, έκαστον έθνος καὶ έκαστος των ανθρώπων χρηται τη έαυτου έλευθερία, ώς βούλεται καὶ ὅτε βούλεται, καὶ δουλεύει τῆ γενέσει καὶ τῆ φύσει δι' ἡν περίκειται σάρκα, πη μεν ώς βούλεται, πη δε ώς μη βούλεται. Πανταχή γαρ καὶ έν παντὶ ἔθνει εἰσὶ πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι, καὶ ἐρρωμένοι καὶ νοσοῦντες, ἕκαστος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ κλήρους.

Ταῦτα, ὧ Βαρδησάνη, ἄκρως ἡμᾶς πέπεικε, φημὶ αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ ἀστρονόμοι φασὶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην μεμερίσθαι εἰς ἐπτὰ κλίματα, καὶ ἄρχειν ἑκάστου κλίματος ἕνα τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων καὶ

Edesseans from being chaste; nor the Greeks from practising gymnastics \* \* \*; nor the Romans from always seizing upon countries; nor the Gauls from marrying one for another; nor constrain the Amazons to bring up the males; neither does the Nativity compel any at the circumference of the world to use (18) the art of the 5 Muses; but as I have said, in every country, and in every nation, all men use the Free-will of their Nature as they wish, and do service to Fortune and to Nature, on account of the body with which they are clad, at one time as they wish, at another as they do not wish; for in every country and in every nation there are rich 10 and poor, and rulers and subjects, and healthy and sick, each of them, according as Fortune and Nativity has reached him.

I say to him, "Thou has convinced us of these things, Father Bardesan, and we know that they are true. But thou art aware that the Chaldeans say, that the Earth is divided into seven portions, which are called Climes; and over these same portions those Seven *Stars* have authority, each one over one of them; and in

in partibus Martis. Germanorum plurimi laqueo vitam finiunt, nec idcirco omnes Lunam cum Hora, Saturno et Marte circumcinctas habent. Sed non in omni gente, et in omni die per omnem diversitatem Genesis nascuntur homines? Ex quibus omnibus apparet, quia metus legum in unaquaque regione dominatur, et arbitrii libertas quæ est hominibus insita per spiritum, obtemperat legibus, nec cogere potest Genesis aut Seres homicidium committere, aut Bragmanos carnibus vesci, aut Persas incesta vitare, vel Indos non exuri, aut Medos non a canibus devorari, Parthos non habere plures uxores, aut mulieres Mesopotamiæ non servare pudicitiam, Græcos non exerceri palæstris, Gallorum pueros non pati muliebria, vel gentes barbaras Græcorum studiis institui, sed ut diximus, unaquæque gens suis legibus utitur pro libertatis arbitrio, et decreta Genesis legum severitate depellit.

Sed dicet aliquis eorum qui in disciplina mathesis eruditi sunt, Genesim in septem partes dirimi, quæ illi climata appellant, dominari vero unicuique climati unam ex septem stellis, et istas quas exposuimus diversas leges non ab hominibus positas, sed ab istis principibus each one of those same places the will of its Power prevails; and this is called Law."

He said to me, "Know first, my son Phillip, that for the purpose of deceit the Chaldeans have invented this saying: For although the earth be divided into seven portions, nevertheless, in each one of the same portions there are found many laws which differ one from the other. For there are not found in the world seven laws according to the number of the Seven Stars; nor twelve according to the number of the Signs of the Zodiac; nor also thirty-six according to the number of the Decani: but there are many laws in each kingdom, and in each country, and in each circuit, and in every habitation, which are different from their neighbours. For ye remember what I said to you, that in one Clime of the Hindoos there are men that do not eat the flesh of animals, and there are others that eat the

τοὺς διαφόρους νόμους μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τεθεικέναι ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἑκάστου ἄρχοντος πλεονάζειν τὸ θέλημα ἐν τῆ ἰδια χώρα, ὃν νόμον νενομίκασιν οἱ κρατούμενοι.

Άπεκρίνατο. Οὐκ ἀληθης ή ἀπόκρισις αὕτη, ὧ Φίλιππε. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ διήρηται ή οἰκουμένη εἰς μέρη ἐπτὰ, ἀλλ' οὖν γε ἐν μιὰ μερίδι εύρίσκομεν πολλάς διαφοράς νόμων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ έπτὰ νόμοι εἰσὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας, οὐδὲ δώδεκα κατὰ τὰ ζώδια, οὐδὲ τριακονταὲξ κατὰ τοὺς δεκανοὺς, ἀλλὰ μυρίοι. Μνημονεύειν τε όφείλετε ὧν προεῖπον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ κλίματι καὶ ἐν μιậ χώρα τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρωποφάγοι Ἰνδοὶ, καί εἰσιν οί ἐμψύχων ἀπεχόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι οἱ Μαγουσαῖοι οὐκ ἐν Περσίδι μόνη τὰς θυγατέρας γαμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει, ὅπου ἂν οἰκήσωσι, τοὺς τῶν προγόνων φυλάσσοντες νόμους καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτῶν τὰς τελετάς. 'Αλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη κατελέξαμεν, τά τε όντα έν μεσημβρία, καὶ δύσει, καὶ ἀνατολῆ, καὶ ἄρκτω, τουτέστιν ἐν διαφόροις κλίμασι, μη μετέχοντα Έρμαϊκης ἐπιστήμης. Πόσοι, νομίζετε, σοφοί ἄνδρες παρήγαγον τοὺς κακῶς κειμένους νόμους; Πόσοι δὲ νόμοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας κατελύθησαν; Πόσοι βασιλεῖς κρατήσαντες έθνων, παρήγαγον τούς προ αὐτων νόμους, καὶ ἔθεντο τοὺς ἰδίους; Καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀπώλεσε τὸ ἴδιον κλιμα. flesh of men. And again, I told you respecting the Persians and the Magi, that it was not in the Clime of Persia only they have taken for wives their daughters and their sisters, but in every country to which they have gone, they have used the law of their fathers, and observed the mysteries of what they delivered to them. again, remember that there are many people I told you, which surround all the world, that are not in one Clime, but in all the winds, and in all the Climes; and they have not the art which Mercury and Venus give when they are in configuration one with the other. And if the laws pertained to the Climes this could not be; but it is 10 known, because those men are distant from the intercourse of men they are many in the manners of their living. (19) How many wise men, think ye, have abrogated from their own countries those laws which seemed to them not to be well made? And how many laws are there which have been broken on account of 15 necessity? And how many kings are there, who, having taken those countries which did not belong to them, have abrogated the laws of their establishing, and instituted such laws as they desired?

secundum uniuscujusque voluntatem; et hoc quod stellæ visum est, legem ab hominibus observatam.

Ad hæc ergo respondebimus, quod primo quidem non est in septem partes orbis terræ divisus, tum deinde et si ita esset, in una parte et in una regione invenimus multas differentias legum, et ideo neque septem sunt secundum numerum Stellarum, neque duodecim secundum numerum Signorum, neque triginta et sex secundum numerum Decanorum, sed sunt innumeræ. autem debemus eorum quæ supra enumerata sunt, quod in una Indiæ regione sunt et qui hominum carnibus vescantur, et sunt qui etiam a pecudibus vel avibus omnibusque animantibus abstineant, et quia Magusæi non solum in Perside matres ac filias accipiunt in matrimonium, sed et in omni gente ubicunque habitaverint, malorum suorum incesta instituta custodiunt. Tum præterea et innumeras gentes memoravimus, quæ penitus studia nesciunt literarum. aliquanti sapientes viri ipsas leges in nonnullis commutaverunt locis, aliæ vero etiam sponte pro sui vel impossibilitate vel inhonestate derelictæ sunt. Certe quod in promptu est noscere, quanti imperatores

And whenever these things took place, no one of the Stars was able to preserve the law. But this is at hand for you to see; because but as yesterday the Romans took Arabia, and abrogated all their ancient laws; and more especially that circumcision with 5 which they circumcised. For he that has the power in himself obeyeth such law as is ordained for him by another, who also is possessed of the power of himself. But I will tell you what may avail more than any thing to persuade the foolish, and those lacking of faith. All the Jews, who have received the law at the 10 hand of Moses, circumcise their male children on the eighth day, and do not wait for the coming of the Stars; neither do they respect the law of the country; nor does the Star, which has authority in the Clime, govern them by force; but whether they be in Edom, or in Arabia, or in Greece, or in Persia, or in the North, 15 or in the South, they fulfil this law which was established for them by their fathers; and it is known that this which they do is not from Nativity, for it is not possible that Mars should rise for all the Jews on the eighth day when they are circumcised, so that steel should pass over them, and their blood be shed. And

Χθές οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι τῆς 'Αραβίας κρατήσαντες τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων νόμους ήλλαξαν έπεται γάρ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῷ αὐτεξουσίφ. Τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον πεῖσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπίστους ἐκθήσομαι ὑμῖν. Ἰουδαῖοι πάντες οἱ διὰ Μωσέως δεξάμενοι νόμον τοὺς γεννωμένους ἄρρενας παίδας εν τῷ ὀγδόη ἡμέρα αίμάσσουσι περιτέμνοντες, οὐκ ἀστέρος παρουσίαν ἀναμένοντες, οὐ κλίματος έξουσίαν ἐκτρεπόμενοι, οὐχ ύπο νόμου άλλοτρίας χώρας άγόμενοι άλλ' εἴτε ἐν Συρία τυγχάνουσιν, εἴτε ἐν Γαλλία, εἴτε ἐν Ἰταλία, εἴτε ἐν Ἑλλάδι, ἢ ἐν Παρθία η όπου αν ωσι, τουτο ποιουσιν. "Οπερ ουκ έστι κατα γένεσιν, ου γὰρ δύνανται πάντες, Ἰουδαῖοι μίαν γένεσιν ἔχειν. ᾿Αλλὰ καὶ δι' ήμερων έπτὰ πάντες ὅπου αν ωσιν, ἀργοῦσιν ἐκ παντὸς ἔργου, καὶ ούτε όδεύουσιν, ούτε πυρί χρωνται οὐτε ἀναγκάζει ή γένεσις Ἰουδαίον, οὐ κτίσαι οἶκον, οὐ καταλῦσαι, οὐκ ἐργάσασθαι, οὐ πωλῆσαι, οὐκ ἀγοράσαι ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ σαββάτου, καὶ τοι ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα γεννώντων Ἰουδαίων καὶ γεννωμένων, καὶ νοσούντων καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων. Ταθτα γὰρ οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου. Ἐν τῷ Συρία

all of them, wherever they are, abstain from worshipping idols; and one day in seven they and their children abstain from all work, and from all building and from all travelling, and from buying and selling; neither do they kill an animal on the sabbath-day, nor kindle fire, nor judge a cause; and there is not found amongst 5 them a man whom Fortune commands that on the Sabbath day he should either go to law and gain his cause, or go to law and lose it, or should pull down or build up, or do any one of those things which all such men as have not received this law do. They have also other things, in which they are not governed like the 10 rest of mankind, while on this same day they both beget, and are born, and fall sick, and die, for these things are not (20) in the power of man. In Syria and in Edessa men used to cut off their foreskins to Tharatha: but when Abgar the king was converted

gentium quas vicerant leges et instituta mutarunt, et suis eas legibus subjecerunt. Quod evidenter a Romanis factum docetur, qui omnem pæne orbem omnesque nationes propriis primo et variis legibus institutisque viventes, in Romanorum ius et civilia scita verterunt. Superest ergo ut et stellæ gentium, quæ a Romanis victæ sunt, climata sua partesque perdiderint. Addam adhuc rem, quæ possit etiam valde incredulis satisfacere. Judæi omnes qui sub lege Mo ysi vivunt, filios suos octava die absque ulla dilatione circumcidunt, et infantis teneri sanguinem fundunt; a sæculo autem nullus ex gentibus hoc die octava perpessus est, et e contra Judæorum nullus omisit. Quomodo ergo in hoc ratio Genesis stabit? cum per cunctas orbis terræ partes omnes Judæi admixti gentibus vivant, et octava ferrum perferant die unius in membri loco, et nemo gentilium, sed ipsi soli ut dixi, hoc faciunt, non stella cogente nec perfusione sanguinis perurgente, sed lege religionis adducti, et in quocunque orbis loco fuerint, hoc est eis insigne vernaculum. quod unum nomen omnibus inest ubicunque fuerint, numquid et hoc per Genesim venit? et quod nunquam apud eos infans natus exponitur, et quod septimo quoque die omnes, ubicunque fuerint, otium gerunt, nec iter incedunt nec igni utuntur? Quid est ergo, quod nullum Judæorum in illa die cogit Genesis aut iter agere, aut ædificare, aut vendere aliquid, aut emere?

to Christianity, he commanded that every one that cut off his foreskin should have his hand cut off. And from that day, and up to this hour, no man cutteth off his foreskin in the country of Edessa. What, then, shall we say respecting the new race of ourselves who are Christians, whom in every country and in every region the Messiah established at His coming; for, lo! wherever we be, all of us are called by the one name of the Messiah—Christians; and upon one day, which is the first of the week, we assemble ourselves together, and on the appointed days we abstain from food. Neither do the Brethren which are in Gallia take

καὶ ἐν τῆ ᾿Οσροηνῆ, ἀπεκόπτοντο πολλοὶ τῆ Ἡέα, καὶ ἐν τούτω μιᾳ ροπή ὁ βασιλεὺς "Αβγαρος ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἀποκοπτομένων τὰ αἰδοῖα αποκόπτεσθαι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκ τότε οὐδεὶς ἀπεκόψατο ἐν τῆ 'Οσροηνή. Τί δὲ ἐροῦμεν περὶ τής τῶν Χριστιανῶν αἰρέσεως, ής ήμεις οι δοξασταί πολλοί όντες και έν διαφόροις ανέστημεν κλίμασιν, έν παντὶ ἔθνει καὶ κλίματι, οἵτινες πολλοὶ ὄντες, ένὶ ὀνόματι κεκλήμεθα; Καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἐν Παρθία Χριστιανοὶ πολυγαμοῦσι, Πάρθοι ὑπάρχοντες, οὔθ' οἱ ἐν Μηδία κυσὶ παραβάλλουσι τοὺς νεκρούς οὐχ οἱ ἐν Περσίδι γαμοῦσι τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν, Πέρσαι όντες, οὐ παρὰ Βάκτροις καὶ Γάλλοις φθείρουσι τοὺς γάμους οὐχ' οί ἐν Αἰγύπτω θρησκεύουσι τὸν Ἄπιν ἢ τὸν κύνα ἢ τὸν τράγον ἢ αἴλουρον ἀλλ' ὅπου εἰσὶν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶς κειμένων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν νικῶνται, οὔθ' ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν πρυτανευομένη γένεσις αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζει τοῖς ἀπειρημένοις κακοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶν χρησθαι, νόσφ δὲ, καὶ πενία καὶ πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς νομιζομέναις ἀτιμίαις ὑπόκεινται. "Ωσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἐλεύθερος ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος δουλεύειν οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται, κἂν ἀναγκασθῆ, ἀνθίσταται τοῖς ἀναγκάζουσιν, ούτως οὐδὲ ὁ φαινόμενος ήμῶν δοῦλος ἄνθρωπος τῆς ὑποταγής ἐκφεύγειν ἡαδίως δύναται. Εἰ γὰρ πάντα ἐδυνάμεθα, ἡμεῖς αν ημεν τὸ παν, ώστε εἰ μηδὲν ἐδυνάμεθα, ἄλλων ημεν, ώς προείπον, ὄργανα καὶ οὐχ έαυτῶν. Θεοῦ δ' ἐπινεύσαντος πάντα δυνατὰ καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστα τῆ γὰρ ἐκείνου βουλήσει οὐδὲν ἀντιστῆναι δύνα-Καὶ γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθίστασθαι, αὐτοῦ χρηστοῦ ὄντος, καὶ συγχωροῦντος έκάστη φύσει ἔχειν τὴν ἰδιότητα καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τοῦ θελήματος, ἀνθίσταται.

males for wives; nor those which are in Parthia take two wives; nor those which are in Judea circumcise themselves; nor do our sisters which are amongst the Geli and amongst the Cashani have connexion with strangers; nor do those which are in Persia take their daughters for wives; nor those who are in 5 Media fly from their dead, or bury them alive, or give them for food to the dogs; nor do those who are in Edessa kill their wives that commit fornication, or their sisters, but withdraw themselves from them, and commit them to the judgment of God. Nor do those who are in Hatra stone the thieves. But where- 10 ever they be, and in whatever place that they are, the laws of the countries do not separate them from the laws of their Messiah; neither does the Fortune of the Governers compel them to make use of things which are impure to them; but sickness and health, and riches and poverty—this which does not appertain to their Free- 15 will, befals them wherever they are. For as the Free-will of men is not governed by the necessity of the Seven, and whenever it is governed it is able to stand against its influences, so also is this visible man not able readily to deliver himself from the commands of his Governers, for he is a slave and a subject. For if we were able to do 20 every thing we should be everything; and if nothing came within the reach of our hands to do, we should be the instruments of others. But whenever God pleaseth, all things are possible to be, without hindrance. For there is nothing which can hinder that great and

Quin imo et majorem fidem rerum præsentium dabo. Ecce enim ex adventu justi et veri prophetæ vixdum septem anni sunt, in quibus ex omnibus gentibus convienientes homines ad Judæam, et signis ac virtutibus quæ viderant, sed et doctrinæ maiestate, permoti, ubi receperunt fidem ejus, abeuntes ad regiones suas, illicitos quosque gentilium ritus et incesta sprevere conjugia. Denique apud Parthos, sicut nobis Thomas qui apud illos evangelium prædicat, scripsit, non multi jam erga plurima matrimonia diffunduntur, nec multi apud Medos canibus objiciunt mortuos suos, neque Persæ matrum conjugiis aut filiarum incestis matrimoniis delectantur, nec mulieres Susides licita ducunt adulteria; nec potuit ad crimina Genesis compellere, quos religionis doctrina prohibehat.

holy will. For even such as think that they stand against Him, it is not in strength they stand, but in evil and in error; and this may subsist a short time, because He is kind, and permitteth all Natures (21) that they should stand in what they are, and be governed by their own will, but being bound nevertheless by the deeds which are 5 done, and by the plans which have been devised for their help. For this order and government which have been given, and association of one with another, softens down the force of the Natures, that they should not be altogether injurious, nor be altogether injured, as they were injuring and injured before the creation 10 of the world. And there will be a time, when also this injury which remaineth in them shall be brought to an end by the instruction which will be in another association. And at the establishment of that new world, all evil motions will cease, and all rebellions will be brought to an end, and the foolish will be 15 persuaded, and deficiencies will be filled up, and there will be peace and safety, by the gift of Him who is the Lord of all Natures.

HERE ENDETH THE BOOK OF THE LAWS OF COUNTRIES.

# CÆSARII,

#### FRATRIS GREGORII THEOLOGI

#### DIALOGUS II.

## Πεῦσις ρθ'.

Της ύμετέρας άγιωσυνης λέγειν μοι ἐπιτρεπούσης, ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ λόγου ἄρχομαι, οὐ λυμήνασθαι τοὺς παρόντας, ἀλλ' ἀποθέσθαι την λύμην βουλόμενος. αὐτίκα γοῦν "Αρης κέντρον λαβων, οἰκείω οἴκω ἐκ τετραγώνου ἐπιθεωρων Κρόνον σὺν Ἑρμῆ ἐπὶ κέντρον, Σελήνης ἐπ' αὐτὸν πλήρους ἀρχομένης, ἐπὶ ἡμερινης γεννήσεως, ἐκτελεῖ ἀνδροφόνους καὶ κτεινομένους, ἐπωμώτας, καὶ αίμοπότας, μεθύσους, λάγνους, δαιμονωντας, μυστηρίων ἀποκρύφων ἵστορας, μάγους θύτας, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ἐξαιρέτως μηδενὸς τῶν

ἀγαθοποιῶν ἀστέρων ἐπιθεωροῦντος. αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν Ἄρης πρὸς ᾿Αφροδίτην σχῆμα τετράγωνον, μοιρικῶς ἐπὶ κέντρον μὴ ἐπιθεωροῦτός τινος ἀγαθοποιοῦ, μοιχοὺς ἀποτελεῖ, ἀδελφαῖς καὶ μητράσι μιγνυμένους. Κύπρις σὺν Μήνη ἐν ὁριόις καὶ οἴκοις Κρόνου, σὺν Κρόνω, ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ Ἄρεος, ἀποτελεῖ γυναῖκας γεωργοὺς 5 καὶ οἰκοδόμους, καὶ πάντων ἀνδρείων ἔργων ἐπιστήμονας, καὶ κοινοῦσθαι καὶ συνκαθεύδειν οἶς δ΄ ἂν βούλοιντο, καὶ μὴ κωλυέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν. ἀνδρείους οὖν ἀποτελεῖ γυναῖκας ἐν ᾿Αιγοκέρω, Ὑδροχόω, κακοδαίμονας ἐν ᾿Αφροδίτη, ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν δὲ τοὐναντιόν σὺν Ἄρεϊ οὖσα, ἐν Κριῷ. ὅθεν οὐχ οἷόν τε φόβω ἤ τινος ἀπειλῆ ἢ 10 μηχανῆ ἐπισχεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας διὰ τὴν τῶν ἄστρων ἀποκλήρωσιν.

#### 'Απόκρισις.

Ἐπιστημόνως πάνυ της Ἐλλήνων πλάνης τοὺς μύθους ἀπήγγειλας. αὖθις οὖν κάγὰ θαρραλέως ἀποδύσομαι πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ
ρηθέντα, καὶ σφενδόνη ἢ τοξία τῷ λόγῷ χρώμενος, καθείλαι πειράσομαι ᾿Αρεα καὶ ᾿Αφροδίτην τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀστέρας, ὅπως μοι
ἀστροκτονιάς γένεσιν ἐπιφημίσης. πρότερον δὲ ἀξιῶ παιδευθηναί σε, 15
οἰόν τε ὑπάρχειν, τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς ἐπιθυμιάς καὶ ἐνεργείας ἢ
κολάζειν, ἢ παντελῶς ἀποσείεσθαι. σείω δὲ ἐκ τοῦ συνείδοτος
αἰκιζομένου, καὶ μνήμη τοῦ ἀκλινοῦς κριτηρίου, τῶν καλῶν εἰργόμενου. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων νόμοι οἶοί τε πρὸ τῆς πείρας τῶν
στρεβλωτηρίων, καὶ πηγάνων, καὶ καταπέλτων, τῆ ἀκοῆ καὶ μόνη 20
τῶν φοβερῶν τῆς κακίας ἀνταμείψεως, σωφρονῆσαι τὴν ἀκόλαστον,
καὶ ἀμβλύναι τὴν σφριγῶσαν ἀκμὴν τῆς νεότητος, ἐν ἑκάστη χώρα,
ἐγγράφως ἢ ἀγράφως ὑπάρχοντες παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν ἐν τοῖς
μὲν τὸ γράμμα, ἐν τοῖς δὲ ἡ συνήθεια.

Νόμος γὰρ ἀνόμοις τὰ πάτρια δοκεῖ ὧν πρῶτοι Σῆρες οἱ τὸ 25 ἄκρον τῆς χέρσου οἰκοῦντες, νόμον ἔχοντες τὸ πατρῷον ἔθος, μὴ ἐταιρίζεσθαι, μηδὲ συλῷν, μὴ μοιχᾶσθαι, μὴ ξοάνοις προσκυνεῖν, ἢ ποτνιᾶσθαι δαίμοσι, μηδ' ὅλως ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν εἴδωλον, ἢ ἑταῖραν, ἢ μοιχαλίδα, οὐ συλώτην, οὐ φονέα, οὐ λωποδύτην καὶ ὅμως οὐδενὸς τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἠνάγκασεν ὁ τοῦ κατὰ σὲ πυριλαμ- 30 ποῦς ᾿Αρεος ἀστήρ. οὐδὲ ἐβιάσατό τινα αὐτῶν φασγάνῳ τὸν πέλας ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ λίθῳ πατάξαι οὐκ ᾿Αφροδίτης σὺν Ἅρει ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιλυττῆσαι τῷ γυναικὶ τοῦ γείτονος πανημέρινον μεσουρανοῦντος

τοῦ "Αρεος, καὶ ὅμως ἰσχυρότερος τῆς ἀνάγκης τῶν ἄστρων παρὰ Σῆρσιν ὁ πάτριος νόμος.

Νόμος δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βακτριανοῖς ἤτοι Βραγμανοῖς, ἡ ἐκ προγονων παιδεία, μὴ μεθύειν, μηδὲ ἀψύχων ἀπογεύεσθαι, οὐκ οἴνου ἁπλοῦ ἢ τόθου μετέχειν, Θεὸν τὸν ἐμὸν δεδοικότας καίτοι τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς Ἰνδῶν μιαιφονούντων, καὶ οἰνοφλογούντων, καὶ μονιῶν ἀγρίων ἢ συῶν δίκην θηλυμονούντων, καὶ τῷ πάθει κραδαινομένων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἐσπερίοις κλίμασιν ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ἐκεῖσε Ἰνδῶν, ξενόβοροι τινὲς ὑπάρχοντες τοὺς ἐπήλυδας ἀναιροῦντες ἐσθίουσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν 10 ἀγαθοποῖων ἀστερων τῆς μιαιφονίας αὐτοὺς ἀπωσθῆναι ἴσχυσε μέχρι τήμερον.

Έτερος νόμος Χαλδαίοις τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις μητρογαμεῖν καὶ άδελφοφθορεῖν, καὶ ταῖς σφῶν παισὶν ἐπιμαίνεσθαι, καὶ μιαιφθορεῖν, εἰ καὶ πορρω τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης γένωνται, καὶ τοῖς σφῶν κεχρῆσθαι 15 νόμοις, φανερῶς καὶ λεληθότως διακελεύομενοι ἐξ ὧν τινες αὐτῶν μέχρι καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχουσιν, ἐν Μήδοις καὶ Πάρθοις καὶ Ἐλαμίταις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐν Φρυξὶ καὶ Γαλάταις, ἔν τισι κώμαις μιαιβιοῦντες καὶ οὐδέπω Κύπρις σὺν Μήνη ἐν ὁρίοις καὶ οἴκοις Κρόνου, ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ Ἄρεος, ἐν ταῖς πάντων αὐτῶν γενέσεσιν εὐρίσκεσθαι 20 οἵατε.

Θάτερος δὲ παρὰ Γήλαις νόμος γυναῖκας γεωργεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν πράττειν ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνεῖν οῖς δ' ἄν βούλονται τῶν ἐπηλύδων, οὐκ ἐπιτιμώμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν προεχόντων ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲ ζηλούμεναι. οὐ μυρίζονται δὲ, οὐδὲ φυκίοις τὴν ὄψιν 25 νοθεύονται, σφῶν παρειὰς ἐπιχρωννῦσαι, καθὼς αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλότριαι ὑποδύνουσαι προσωπεῖον. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες στιβάζονται ἐσθῆτι μαλακῆ καὶ ἀνθοβάφω περιβολῆ. ὑπάρχουσι δ' ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ πολεμικώταται, καὶ θηροῦσαι τὰ μὴ λίαν ἰσχυρὰ τῶν θηρίων. πῶς οὖν πᾶσαι αἱ Γήλων γυναῖκες οὐκ ἔλαχον ᾿Αιγοκέρω ἢ Ὑδροχόω, 30 κακαδαιμονοῦσι τῆ Κύπριδι; ὄυτ' αὖ πάλιν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ἔλαχον ἐν Κριῷ σὺν ᾿Αρει τὴν ᾿Αφροδίτην, ἔνθα τοὺς ἀνδρείους καὶ σπατάλους φασὶν οἱ τῆ γνώμη Χαλδαῖοι;

Έν δὲ Σούσοις τῆς Βαβυλῶνος αἱ γυναῖκες παντὶ μύρῳ διαφέροντι, καὶ κόσμῳ χρῶνται, ὑπηρετούμεναι καὶ φαιδρῶς προϊοῦσαι σὸν βλωσυρία, καὶ διαχύσει πολλῆ πᾶσι δὲ Ἐλλήσιν ἀδεῶς τε καὶ ἀναιδῶς συγκαθεύδουσιν, ἄρχουσαι μᾶλλον τῶν οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν.

καὶ οὐ πάντως ἐν πάση γενέσει τῶν Σουσίδων γυναικῶν μεσουρανεῖ μετὰ Διὸς καὶ "Αρεος ἐν Διὸς ὅροις ἡ 'Αφροδίτη.

Έν δὲ τῆ Ἐώᾳ οἱ ἀρρενοφθοροῦντες, οἱ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς, ἐὰν γνωσθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμαίμων ἀφειδῶς τιμωροῦνται.

Έν Βρεττανία πλείστοι ἄνδρες μιᾶ συγκαθεύδουσι γυναικί 5 ώσαύτως καὶ πολλαὶ γυναϊκες ένὶ έταιρίζονται ἀνδρί.

Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πατρίοις τὰ ἔθνη ὥσπερ νόμφ στοιχοῦσιν ἀδάκνως καὶ ἀπόνως.

'Αμαζόνες δὲ ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔχουσιν' ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους περὶ τὴν ἐαρινικὴν ἰσημερίαν ὑπερόριοι γίνονται, μισγόμε- 10 ναι τοις γειτνιώσιν ἀνδράσιν, οίον πανήγυρίν τινα, καὶ έορτὴν τὸν καιρον της έταιρείας ηγούμεναι. έξ ων κατά γαστρός φέρουσαι, παλινδρομοῦσιν οἴκαδε ἄμα πᾶσαι. τῷ δὲ καιρῷ τῆς ἀποκυήσεως, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα φθείρουσι, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ξωογονοῦσι καὶ τιθηνοῦσιν έπιμελως. άτοπον δὲ πιστεῦσαι ἐπὶ μὲν τῆ των ἀρρένων σπορά 15 "Αρεα μετά Κρόνου έπὶ τῆς ὥρας ἰσομοίρως τυχεῖν ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θήλεως οὐδέποτε. καὶ πῶς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νυχθημέρῳ πάντων ἐν ταῖς ύποδεξαμέναις καταβληθέντων, καὶ όμοῦ πάλιν ώς ἐκ μιᾶς νηδύος προερχομένων, τὰ μὲν διαφθείρεται, τοῦ ἄμα τοῦ βίου γεύσασθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μιαιφόνων θανατούμενα πρὸ τοῦ σπᾶσαι γάλα, ἢ 20 ρηξαι φωνήν, τὰ δὲ ζωογονεῖται, καὶ περιέπεται ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις κόλποις τὰ κακὰ ἐνσκαίροντα; πῶς ἐν ταὐτῷ καιρῷ αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν γυναίκες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ἀποκύουσαι πλείσται, καὶ διτοκοῦσαι ἄμφω τὰ βρέφη περιποιοῦνται, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄστρων βιαζόμεναι διαφθείρειν, ἢ τῷ ἐδάφει προσαράττειν, καὶ τῆ γῆ προσ- 25 αναλύειν, ώς 'Αμαζόνες τὰ δείλαια άλλὰ τὸν σφῶν αὐχένα τῆς έκείνων σφαγής προϋπεχούσας, ἐαυτὰς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ὑπότιτθα τοῦ ζῆν ἱμειρόμενα ἀπορρήγνυσθαι.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὥς φατε, μετὰ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν οἴκοις ἰδίοις ἐπιτελεῖ πλάστας, ζωγράφους, κερματιστὰς, ἐν οἴκοις δὲ Ἀφροδίτης, 30 μυρεψοὺς, φωνάσκους, ὑποκριτὰς, ποιητάς παρὰ δὲ Ἡλείοις καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῆ ἀνωτέρα Λιβύη καὶ Μαύροις κατὰ τοὺς ἢϊόνας καὶ ὄχθας τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἐν τῆ ἐξωτέρα Γερμανία, καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀνωτέρα Σαρματία, καὶ ἐν Σκυθία, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξωτικοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Πόντου ἔθνεσιν, οὐχ οἷόν τε εὑρεῖν κολλυ- 35 βιστὴν, ἢ πλάστην, ἢ ζωγράφον, οὐκ ἀρχιτέκτονα, οὐ φωνάσκον,

οὐχ ὑποκριτὴν ποιημάτων, ὡς παρ' ἡμῖν διὰ τί Ἑρμῆς καὶ ᾿Αφροδίτη οὐ παρέσχον, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτυχεῖν γεννωμένω τοῖς ἐκλείπουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι;

Μήδοι δὲ πάντες μετὰ σπουδής ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας τοὺς κάμνοντας 5 κυσὶ βορὰν προτιθέασιν ἀναλγήτως; σὺν τῆ Μήνη, ὥς φατε, τὸν ᾿Αρεα ἐπὶ ἡμερινῆς γενέσεως ἐν Καρκίνω Μήδοι ἔλαχον;

Ίνδοὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς έαυτῶν τεφροποῖουσι πυρί μεθ' ὧν καταφλέγουσί τινων τὰς συμβίους. καὶ οὐδήπου πᾶσαι αἱ πυριάλωτοι Ἰνδῶν γυναῖκες, ἢ αἱ ζῶσαι, ἔλαχον ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτερινῆς συνελευ-10 σεως τῶν γονέων σὺν Ἄρει τὸν "Ηλιον, ἐν νυκτὶ μὴ φαίνοντα ἐν μοίραις Ἀρεως.

Γερμανών οί πλείους άγχόνη τὸ ζῆν ἀμείβονται καὶ οὐ πάντως τὸ πλήθος Γερμανῶν τὴν Σελήνην καὶ τὴν ὥραν μεσολαμβανομένας ύπὸ Κρόνου καὶ "Αρεος ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ παντὶ ἔθνει ἡμέραι βρο-15 τοίς γένωνται, οὐ κρείττονες ἢ χείρονες κατὰ ἄστρων συμπλοκὴν, ώς ύμεις φατε, άλλ' εν εκάστη χώρα νόμοι τινες και πάτρια έθη κρατεῖ, ἐξ ὧν τὸ αὐτεξούσιον καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὰ πρακτέα ὑπάρχειν παιδευόμεθα πάντες. οὐ γὰρ οία τε ἡ καθ' ὑμᾶς γένεσις ἀναγκάσαι Σήρας ἀνακεῖν, ἡ Βραχμάνας κρεωβορεῖν καὶ σικεροποτεῖν, ἡ 20 Πέρσας μη μητρογαμείν, καὶ ἀδελφοφθορείν, η Ἰνδούς μη πυρί δίδοναι τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἢ Μήδους μὴ κυσὶ τοὺς θνηξομένους προτιθέναι, ἢ Πάρθους μὴ πολυγαμεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Μεσοποταμίτας μὴ άκρως σωφρονείν, η Έλληνας μη σωμασκείσθαι, η τὰ βάρβαρα έθνη ταις υφ' Έλλήνων προσαγαρευομέναις κοινωνείν άλλ' ώς 25 προέφην, έκαστος βροτών χρηται τη του νόμου έλευθερία, τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄστρων μυθουργούμενα καθ' Ἑλλήνας παραπεμπόμενος, τῷ έκ των νόμων δέει, ἢ τῷ ἐξ ἔθνους ἔθει πατρίφ των φαύλων εἰργόμενος αί μεν γάρ των άρετων υπάρχουσι προαιρετικαί, αί δε περιστατικαὶ, ἀνάγκη ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον χωροῦντος τοῦ ζητουμένου ὑπὸ 30 τῶν νόμων.

# Πευσις ρί.

'Αλλ' έπτὰ ὄντων τἢ γενέσει ἡμῶν ἀνακειμένων ἀστέρων, εἰς έπτὰ λέγομεν κλίματα τὴν γῆν διαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἕκαστον κλῖμα ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν ἀστέρων, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνων συμπλοκὰς ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ἀποτελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὅπερ νόμον τινὲς τὴν τοῦ 35 ἄστρου ἐνέργειαν λέγουσιν.

## 'Απόκρισις.

Καὶ πῶς εἰ έπταχῶς διαιρεῖται ή οἰκουμενη, ἐν μιᾳ μερίδι πολλούς καὶ διαφόρους νόμους εύρίσκομεν; καὶ οὔτε έπτὰ μόνον κατὰ τοὺς ἀστέρας, οὔτε δὶς εξ κατὰ τοὺς ζωδικοὺς, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν τριάκοντα εξ κατά τους δεκάνους, άλλα μύριοι μνημονέυονται νόμοι, πάλαι ἀμειφθέντες, καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχοντες. πῶς δὲ ἐν ταυτῷ τμήματι 5 τοὺς ἀνθρωποβόρους Ἰνδους, καὶ τοὺς ἐμψύχων καὶ θοίνης ἁπάσης ἀπεχόμενους Βραχμαίους οἰκοῦντας ὁρῶμεν; πῶς δὲ οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, όποι δ' αν γίνωνται, τη μιαιγαμία των όμαίμων παροινούσι; πως δ' ἐν ἑτέρφ τμήματι ὄντες οἱ Σκλαυηνοὶ καὶ Φυσωνῖται, οἱ καὶ Δανούβιοι προσαγορεύομενοι, οί μεν γυναικομαστοβορούσιν ήδέως, 10 διὰ τὸ πεπληρῶσθαι τοῦ γάλακτος, μυῶν δίκην τοὺς ὑποτίτθους ταίς πέτραις ἐπαράττοντες οί δὲ καὶ τῆς νομίμης καὶ ἀδιαβλήτου κρεωβορίας ἀπέχονται; καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν αὐθάδεις, αὐτόνομοι, άνηγεμόνευτοι, συνεχώς άναιροῦντες, συνεσθιόμενοι ή συνοδεύοντες, τῶν σφῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἄρχοντα, ἀλώπεκας καὶ τὰς ἐνδρύμους 15 κάττας καὶ μονιούς ἐσθίοντες, καὶ τῆ λύμων ὡρυγῆ σφᾶς προσκαλούμενοι οί δὲ καὶ ἀδδηφαγίας ἀπέχονται, καὶ τῷ τυχόντι ὑποταττόμενοι καὶ ὑπείκοντες;

Καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος περὶ Λογγοβάρδων καὶ Νόρων καὶ Γάλλων τῶν Εσπερίων τῶν Ερμαϊκῆς καὶ Κρονικῆς ἀμοιρούντων ἐπιστημης 20 των ἄστρων. πόσοι βασιλείς καὶ ἄρχοντες παρήγαγον τοὺς κακώς κειμένους νόμους, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκοῦν νομοθετοῦντες; ἢ αὖ πάλιν τοὺς κρείττονας οἱ ἐνιαυτίοι ἀπώσαντο, ὑπ' οὐδενος τῶν ἄστρων πρὸς τὰ αίρεθέντα εἰργόμενοι; εν δε φάναι βούλομαι, δ καὶ των ἀπίστων πάντων ἀποβράψει τὰ στόματα, Ἰουδαῖοι πάντες τὸν διὰ Μωσέως 25 δεξάμενοι νόμον, πῶν ἄρρεν λογικον αὐτοῖς γινόμενον τῆ ὀγδοη ημέρα περιτέμνοντες αίμάττουσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος, οὐδεὶς Έλλήνων η Χριστιανών περιτομην έδέξατο. πλείστων Ίουδαίων καὶ Έλλήνων καὶ Χριστιανών κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μῆνας καὶ έβδομάδας καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας γενωμένων, "Αρης, ἢ Έρμῆς, ἢ Κύπρις, ἢ ὁ 30 λοιπὸς Έλλήνων μῦθος, ένὸς κύκλου ἐμπεριέχοντος τὰ πάντα, καὶ μηδενὸς ὑπὸ ἀστέρων βιαζομένου. οὐ γὰρ πάντες Έλλήνες, ἢ Ἰουδαίοι, η Χριστιανοί εν τη αὐτη ημέρα η ώρα εν τη μητρώα κατεβλήθησαν νηδύϊ, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν πάντες ἄμα ἀπεκυήθησαν πῶς οὖν

οί πλείστοι αὐτῶν Χριστῷ συνέθεντο, τὴν πατρῷαν ἀρνησάμενοι πλάνην, μὴ ἰσχύσαντος τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀστέρος τῆς χερσαίου μερίδος ἐμποδῆσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς θεοσέβειαν;

Bardesan, a man of antiquity, and renowned for the knowledge 5 of events, has written in a treatise composed by him touching the synods of the heavenly luminaries with one another, saying thus: Two circuits of Saturn are 60 years; 5 circuits of Jupiter 60 years; 40 circuits of Mars 60 years; 60 circuits of the Sun 60 years; 72 circuits of Venus 60 years; 150 circuits of Mer-10 cury 60 years; 720 circuits of the moon 60 years; and this is one synod of them all, that is to say, the time of one synod of them; so that hence it appears, that for 100 of such synods there would be six thousand years, in this manner: 200 circuits of Saturn 6 thousand years; 500 circuits of Jupiter 15 6 thousand years; 4 thousand circuits of Mars 6 thousand years; six thousand circuits of the Sun six thousand years; 7 thousand and 200 circuits of Venus 6 thousand years; 12 thousand circuits of Mercury 6 thousand years; 72 thousand circuits of the Moon 6 thousand years: and Bardesan made these calculations when 20 he was desirous of shewing that this world would stand only six thousand years.

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## AN ORATION OF MELITON THE PHILOSOPHER;

WHO WAS IN THE PRESENCE OF ANTONINUS CÆSAR, AND BADE THE SAME CÆSAR KNOW GOD, AND SHEWED HIM THE WAY OF TRUTH; AND HE BEGAN SPEAKING AFTER MANNER:

Melito saith: It is not an easy matter readily to bring into the right way that man who has been a long time pre-occupied by error. But nevertheless it is possible to be done; for when a man has been turned from error a little, the mention of the truth is acceptable to him; for in the same manner as, when the cloud 5 has been broken a little, there is fine weather, so also a man, too, when he is turned towards God, the thick cloud of error which hindered him from the true vision, is quickly removed from his face. For error, like passion and sleep, holdeth for a long time those who alight under it; but truth, using the word as a stimulus, 10 and smiting such as are asleep, also awaketh them; and when they are awake, seeing the truth, they also understand, and hearing, they also distinguish that which exists from that which doth not exist. For there are men that call wickedness righteousness, and 15 so then they suppose that this is righteousness when a man shall be in error together with the many. But I say that this is not a good excuse, that a man be in error with the many: for if one only act foolishly his folly is great; how much greater, then, must the folly be when the many are foolish together?

But the folly of which I speak is this, if a man should leave that which really exists, and serve that which really does not exist: but there is that which really exists, and is called God, and He really exists, and by His power every thing subsists; and This same was not made, nor yet brought into being, but exists 25 from eternity, and will exist for ever and ever. He undergoes no change, while all things are changed. No sight is able to behold Him; nor understanding able to comprehend Him, nor

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words to describe Him; and those who love Him (23) call him after this manner—Father and God of Truth.

And if, therefore, a man abandon the light, and say that there is another God, it is found from his own words that 5 he calleth some created thing God. For if a man call fire God, it is not God, because it is fire; and if a man call the waters Gods, they are not God, because they are waters; and if this earth which we tread upon, and if those heavens which are seen by us, and if the sun, or the moon, or one of those stars which run their course by ordinance and rest not, nor proceed by their own will,—and if a man call gold and silver Gods; are not these things that we use as we please? And if that wood which we burn, and if those stones which we break—how then are these Gods? for, lo! they are for the use of men. How will not they be found 15 in great sin, who change the great God by their word into those things which stand by ordinance so far as they do stand?

But I say nevertheless, that so long as a man not having heard, neither discerneth nor understands that there is a Lord over these creatures, perhaps he is not to be blamed, because no one 20 blameth the blind when he walketh badly. For in the same manner also men, while they were seeking after God, stumbled against stones and stocks; and such of them as were rich, stumbled against gold and silver, and by their stumbling were kept back from that which they were seeking after. 25 that a voice has been heard in all the earth that there is a God of truth, and an eye has been given to every man to see withal, they are without excuse who are influenced by a feeling of shame towards the many with whom they have been in error, but otherwise desire to walk in the right way. For those who are ashamed to 30 be saved, necessity compels them to die. On this account I counsel them that they open their eyes and see; for, lo! light without envy is given to all of us, that we may see thereby; and if, when light hath arisen upon us, any one closeth his eyes that he may not see, his course is to the ditch. For why is a 35 man influenced by feelings of shame towards those who have been in error together with himself? Rather it behoveth him to per-

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suade them to follow in his steps, and if they be not persuaded by him, he should save himself from amongst them. For there are some men who are not able to raise themselves up from their mother earth: for this cause, also, they make for themselves Gods from the earth their mother. (24) And they are condemned by the judgments 5 of truth, because they affix that name which is unchangeable to those things which subject to change, and fear not to designate as Gods that which has been made by the hands of man; and dare to make an image for God whom they have not seen.

But I affirm that also the Sybil has said respecting them, that it 10 is the images of kings, who are dead, they worship. And this is easy to understand; for, lo! even now they worship and honour the images of those belonging to the Cæsars, more than those former Gods: for from those their former Gods, both tribute and produce are paid to Cæsar as to one, who is greater than they. 15 And on this account those are slain who despise them, and diminish the revenue of Cæsar. For also to the treasury of other kings in various places it is appointed how much the worshippers supply, and how many sacks full of water from the sea. And this is the wickedness of the world, of such as worship and fear that which 20 hath no perception; and many of those who are cunning, either for the sake of profit, or on account of vain-glory, or for the sake of swaying the many, both worship themselves, and instigate the deficient in understanding to worship that which hath no perception.

But I, according as I know, will write and shew how and for what causes images were made for kings and tyrants, and they became as gods. The people of Argos made images for Hercules, because he was one of their own citizens and was brave, and slew by his valour noisome beasts, and more especially because 30 they were afraid of him, for he was violent, and carried away the wives of many, for his lust was great, like that of Zuradi the Persian, his friend.

Again, the people of Acte worshipped Dionysius, a king, because he originally introduced the vine into their country.

The Egyptians worshipped Joseph, a Hebrew, who was called

Serapis, because he supplied them with sustenance in the years of famine.

The Athenians worshipped Athene, the daughter of Zeus, king of the island of Crete, because she built the citadel Athens, and made 5 Ericthippus (Ericthonius) her son king there, whom she had by adultery with Hephæstus, a smith, the son of a wife of her father; and she always was making companionship with Hercules, because he was her brother on her father's side. For Zeus the king fell in love with Alcmene, the wife of Electryon, who was from Argos, and committed adultery with her, and she gave birth to Hercules. (25)

The people of Phænicia worshipped Balthi, queen of Cyprus, because she fell in love with Tamuz, son of Cuthar, king of the Phænicians, and left her own kingdom, and came and dwelt in Gebal, a fortress of the Phænicians, and at the same time she made all the Cyprians subject to the king Cuthar: for before Tamuz she had been in love with Ares, and committed adultery with him, and Hephæstus her husband caught her, and was jealous over her, and came and slew Tamuz in Mount Lebanon, while he was hunting wild boars; and from that time Balthi remained in Gebal, and she died in the city Aphaca, where Tamuz was buried.

The Elamites worshipped Nuh, daughter of the King of Elam. When the enemy had taken her captive, her father made for her an image and a temple in Shushan, a palace which is in Elam.

The Syrians worshipped Athi a Hadibite, who sent the daughter of Belat, who was skilled in medicine, and she cured Simi, daughter of Hadad, king of Syria; and after a time, when the leprosy attacked Hadad himself, Athi entreated Elishah, the Hebrew, and he came and cured him of his leprosy.

The people of Mesopotamia also worshipped Cuthbi, a Hebrew woman, because she delivered Bacru, the patrician of Edessa, from his enemies.

But touching Nebo, which is in Mabug, why should I write to 35 you; for, lo! all the priests which are in Mabug know that it is the image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus. And Hadran is the

image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus, because both of these Magi practised Magism to a well which is in a wood in Mabug, in which was an unclean spirit, and it committed violence and attacked the passage of every one who was passing by in all that place in which now the fortress of Mabug is located; and these 5 same Magi charged Simi, the daughter of Hadad, that she should draw water from the sea, and cast it into the well, in order that the spirit should not come up and commit injury, according to that which was a mystery in their Magism. And in like manner, also, the rest of mankind made images of their kings, and wor- 10 shipped them, of which I will not write further.

But thou, a free intelligence and cognizant of the truth, if thou wilt consider these things, enter into thyself; and if they clothe thee in the fashion of a woman, remember that thou art a man, and be a believer in Him who really is God, and to Him open thy 15 mind, and to Him commit thyself, and He is able to give thee everlasting life, which dieth not; (26) for every thing cometh through His hands: and all other things so let them be esteemed by thee as they are, images as images, sculptures as sculptures; and let not any thing which has been made be put by thee in the place of 20 Him who is not made. But let Him, the ever-living God, be always running in thy mind; for thy mind itself is his likeness, for it, too, is invisible and impalpable, and without form; and by its will the whole body is moved. Know thou, therefore, that if thou wilt always be serving Him that is immoveable, as He exists 25 for ever, so thou also, when thou shalt have put off this which is visible and corruptible, shalt stand before Him for ever, living and endowed with knowledge; and thy works shall be for thee riches which fail not, and possessions that do not lack. But know thou that the chief of all thy good works is this: that thou 30 shouldest know God and serve Him. And know that He asketh not for any thing of thee: he needeth nothing.

Who is that God? He who is himself truth, and his word truth. But what is truth? That which is not fashioned, and not made, and not formed; that is, that which, without having been 35 brought into existence, does exist, and is called truth. But if, then,

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a man worship that which has been made by hands, it is not the truth he worshipeth, neither also the word of truth. But for myself I have much to say touching this matter; but I am influenced by a feeling of shame for those who do not under-5 stand that they are better than the work of their own hands; nor do they understand how they give gold to the artists, that they may make for them a god, and give them silver for their ornament and their honour, and they transfer their riches from one place to another, and then worship them. And what disgrace can 10 be greater than this, that a man should worship his riches, and abandon Him who bestowed upon him the riches? and that he should revile man, but worship the image of man, and slay a beast, but worship the likeness of a beast. And it must be acknowledged that is the workmanship of their fellow-men that they 15 worship; for they do not worship the materials while they are laid by in bundles, but when the artists have fashioned images from them they worship them; neither do they worship the substance of gold or of silver, until the sculptors have engraven them, then they worship them. Deficient of understanding! What 20 additional thing has been imparted to the gold that now thou worshippest it? If it be because it resembles a winged animal, why dost thou not worship the winged animal itself? And if because it resembles a voracious beast, lo! the voracious beast itself<sup>(27)</sup> is before thee. And if it be the artist's skill itself that 25 please thee, then let the artistic skill of God please thee, who made every thing, and in His own likeness made the artists, and they endeavour to do like Him, but resemble Him not.

But perchance thou mayest say, Why did not God create me so that I should then have served Him, and not idols? By this that thou speakest in such a manner, thou wouldest seek to become an idle instrument, and not a living man. For God made thee so well as it seemed good to Him, and gave thee a mind endowed with Free-will. He set before thee abundant things that thou mightest distinguish each thing, and choose for thyself that which is good. He has set before thee the heavens, and he has placed in them the stars. He hath set before thee the sun and the moon, and

they every day fulfil their course therein. He hath set before thee many waters, and restrained them by his word. He hath set before thee the vast earth, which is still, and continueth before thee in one fashion. And in order that thou mayest not suppose that of its own nature it continueth, He also maketh it 5 quake whensoever He desireth. He hath set before thee the clouds which by ordinance bring water from above and satisfy the earth: that from these things thou mightest understand, that He who moveth these is greater than they all, and that thou mightest accept the goodness of Him, who hath given to thee a 10 mind by which thou mayest distinguish these things. Therefore I counsel thee that thou shouldest know thyself, and shouldest know God. For understand how there is within thee that which is called the soul: by it the eye seeth, by it the ear heareth, by it the mouth speaketh: and how it employeth the whole body. 15 And whensoever He pleaseth to remove the soul from the body, it falleth and goeth to decay. From this, therefore, which exists within thyself and is invisible, understand how God also moveth the whole world by his power, like the body, and that whensoever it pleaseth Him to withdraw his power, the whole world also, 20 like the body, will fall and go to decay.

For what end, therefore, this world was created, and why it passeth away, and why the body exists, and why it falleth, and why it standeth, thou art not able to know until thou shalt have lifted up thy head from this sleep in which thou art sunken, and 25 have opened thine eyes, and seen that there is one God, the Lord of all, and have served Him with all thy heart. Then will He grant thee to know His will; for every one who is far removed from the knowledge of the living God is dead and buried in his body. On this account thou rollest thyself upon the ground be-30 fore demons and shadows, and askest vain petitions from such as hath not what to give. But thou, stand thou up (28) from amongst those who are lying on the earth and embracing stones, and giving their sustenance as food for the fire, and offering their clothes to idols, and are willing, while they themselves are endowed with 35 senses, to serve that which is insensible. And do thou ask peti-

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tions which will not fail from God who faileth not, for thy soul which is not liable to decay, and immediately thy Free-will will be evident, and of it be careful; and give thanks to God who made thee, and gave thee a free mind, that thou mightest conduct thyself as thou wishest. He hath set before thee all these things, and sheweth thee, that if thou followest after evil thou shalt be condemned for thy evil deeds; but if after goodness thou shalt receive from Him many good things, together with eternal life which never dieth.

There is nothing, therefore, which hindereth thee from changing thy evil manner of life, because thou art endowed with Free-will; and from seeking and finding who is the Lord of all, and from serving Him with all thy heart, because with Him there is no jealousy of giving the knowledge of himself to those that seek it, so that they are able to know Him.

Let it be thy care first, not to deceive thyself. For if thou sayest with regard to that which is not God, This is God, thou deceivest thyself, and sinnest before the God of truth. Fool! is that God which is bought and sold? Is that God which 20 standeth in need? Is that God which must be watched? How buyest thou him as a slave, and servest him as master? How askest thou of him as of one who is rich to give to thee, and thyself givest to him as to one who is poor? How canst thou expect of him that he will make thee victorious in battle; for, lo! when thine enemies have vanquished thee, they also strip him too?

Perchance one who is a sovereign may say that I am not able to conduct myself well, because I am a sovereign. It behoveth me to do the will of the many. He who should plead thus, truly deserves to be laughed at. For why should not the sovereign be himself the leader in all good things, and persuade the people which is subject to him, that they should conduct themselves with purity, and know God in truth, and set them in himself examples of all good deeds? Because so it becometh him. For it is an absurd thing that a sovereign, while he conducts himself badly, should be the judge, and condemn those who go wrong.

But my opinion is this: that in this way a realm may be governed

in peace, whenever the sovereign shall be acquainted with the God of truth, (29) and through fear of Him shall be withheld from injuring those who are his subjects, but shall judge every thing with equity, as one who knoweth that he himself also is about to be judged before God; while those also who are under his 5 hand shall be withheld by the fear of God from acting wrongly towards their sovereign, and shall also be withheld by fear from doing what is wrong to each other. And by this knowledge and fear of God all wickedness may be removed from the realm. For if the sovereign abstain from injuring those who are under his hand, and they abstain from doing wrong against him, and 10 against each other, it is evident that the whole country will dwell in peace. And many advantages will be there, because amongst them all the name of God will be glorified. For what advantage is greater than this, that a sovereign should deliver the people which is under his hand from error, and by this good deed obtain 15 the favour of God? For from error all those evils arise. But the chief of error is this: that while a man is ignorant of God, he should worship in God's stead that which is not God.

But there are men who say, that it is for God's own honour 20 we make the idol;—that forsooth, they may worship the image of the hidden God! And they are ignorant that God is in every country, and in every place, and is never absent, and that there is not any thing done, and He knoweth it not. But thou, feeble man, within whom He is, and without whom He is, and 25 above whom He is, hast gone and bought for thyself wood from the carpenter's house, which is graven and made into an abomination of God. To this same thing thou offerest sacrifices, and knowest not that the all-seeing eye beholdeth thee, and the word of truth reproacheth thee, and saith to thee, The invisible God, how 30 can He be sculptured? But it is the likeness of thyself that thou makest, and then worshippest it. Because the wood has been graven, dost thou not perceive that it is wood, or that it is stone? And the gold one taketh by weight, how much it weigheth: and when thou hast made it, why dost thou weigh it? Therefore 35 thou art a lover of gold, and not a lover of God. And art not thou

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ashamed, perchance it should be deficient, to demand of him who made it, why he has stolen some of it? And although thou hast eyes, dost thou not see? and although thou hast a heart, dost thou not understand? Why rollest thou thyself upon the earth, and offerest supplication to things which are without perception? Fear Him who shaketh the earth, and maketh the heavens to revolve, and quelleth the sea, and removeth the mountains from their place; Him who can make himself like fire, and burn up every thing. And if thou be not able to justify thyself, yet add not to thy sins; and if thou be unable to know God, yet think that He exists.

Again, there are men that say, Whatsoever our fathers bequeathed to us, that we reverence. Therefore, for sooth, those to whom their fathers bequeathed poverty, strive to become rich! and those whom their fathers did not instruct, desire to be in-15 structed and to learn what their fathers knew not! And why, forsooth, do the children of the blind see, and the children of the lame walk? For it is not well for a man to follow after such as have gone before that walked badly; but that we should turn from the same path, lest that which befel those who have gone 20 before should also bring injury upon us. Wherefore, inquire if thy father walked well; if so, do thou also follow after him: but if thy father walked ill, walk thou well, and let thy children also follow after thee. Be solicitous too respecting thy father, because he walketh ill, so long as thy solicitude may be of avail to help 25 him. But as for thy children, say to them thus, That there does exist a God, the Father of all, who never was brought into being, neither was He made, and every thing subsisteth by his will; and He made the lights that his works may behold one another, and He concealeth himself in his might from all his 30 works; for it is not possible for any mutable thing to see Him who is immutable. But such as have been admonished and admitted into that covenant which is immutable, they see God so far as it is possible for them to see him. These same will be able to escape from being consumed when the flood of fire shall 35 come upon all the world. For there was once a flood and wind, and the chosen men were destroyed by a mighty north wind,

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and the just were left for demonstration of the truth; but again, at another time there was a flood of waters, and all men and living creatures were destroyed by the multitude of waters, and the just were preserved in an ark of wood, by the ordinance So also it will be at the last time; there shall 5 of God. be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up together with the idols which they have made, and with the graven images which they have worshipped; and the sea, together with its isles, shall be burnt; and the just shall be delivered from the 10 fury, like their fellows in the ark from the waters of the deluge. And then those who have not known God, and those who have made idols for themselves, shall lament, when they behold the same idols on fire together with themselves, (31) and nothing shall be found to help them.

But when thou, O Antonius (Antoninus) Cæsar shalt learn these things thyself, and thy children also with thee, thou wilt bequeath to them an eternal inheritance which fadeth not away; and thou wilt deliver thine own soul, and also the soul of thy children from that which is about to befal the whole earth in the judgment of truth and righteousness. Because, as thou hast 20 acknowledged him here, He will acknowledge thee there; and if thou esteem him great here, He esteemeth not thee more than those who have known him and confessed him. Sufficient be these for thy majesty; and if they be too many,—as thou wilt.

HERE ENDETH MELITON.

### BY MELITON, BISHOP OF SARDIS,

# From the Discourse On the Soul and Body.

For this reason the Father sent his Son from heaven incorporeal, that when He was become incarnate through the womb of the Virgin and was born man, He might save man, and collect those members of his which death had scattered when he divided man. And further on. The earth quaked, and its foundations were shaken; the sun fled, and the elements turned back, and the day was changed; for they endured not that their Lord should hang upon a tree; and the whole creation was wonderstruck, marvelling, and saying, "What new mystery, then, is 10 this? The judge is judged, and holds his peace; the invisible is seen, and is not ashamed; the incomprehensible is seized and is not indignant; the immeasurable is measured, and doth not resist; the impassible suffereth, and doth not avenge; the immortal dieth, and answereth not a word; the celestial is 15 interred, and endureth! What new mystery is this?" whole creation was astonished. But when our Lord arose from the dead, and trode death under foot, and bound the strong one, and loosed man,—then the whole creation perceived, that for man's sake the judge was condemned, and the invisible was seen, and the 20 immeasurable was measured, and the impassible suffered, and the immortal died, and the celestial was interred: for our Lord, when he was born man, was condemned in order that He might shew mercy; (32) was bound in order that He might loose; was seized upon in order that He might let go; suffered in order 25 that He might have compassion; died that He might save; was buried that He might raise up.

## By the same, from the Discourse On the Cross.

For the sake of these things He came to us; for the sake of these things, while He was incorporeal, He formed for himself a body of our construction; while He appeared as a sheep, He still still remained the shepherd; while He was esteemed a servant, He denied not the sonship; while He was borne of Mary, He

also was invested with his Father; while He trode upon the earth, He also filled the heaven; while He appeared as an infant, He belied not the eternity of his nature; while He was clad with a body, He also bound not the singleness of his Godhead; while He was esteemed poor, He also was not divested of his 5 riches; while, inasmuch as He was man, He needed food; still, inasmuch as He was God, He ceased not to feed the universe; while He was clad in the likeness of servant, He also changed not the likeness of the Father. He was every thing in an immutable nature. He was standing before Pilate, and yet was 10 sitting with the Father. He was nailed upon the tree, and yet was upholding every thing.

## From Meliton the Bishop; On Faith.

We have made collections from the Law and the Prophets relative to those things which have been declared respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may prove to your love, that He is perfect rea- 15 son, the Word of God; who was begotten before the light; who was Creator together with the Father; who was the fashioner of man; who was all in all; who among the Patriarchs was Patriarch; who in the law was the Law; among the priests Chiefpriest; amongst kings Governor; among prophets the Prophet; among the 20 angels Archangel; in the Voice the Word; among spirits Spirit; in the Father the Son; in God God—the king for ever and ever. this was He who was pilot to Noah; who conducted Abraham; who was bound with Isaac, who was in exile with Jacob, who was sold with Joseph, who was captain with Moses, who was the divider 25 of the inheritance with Jesus the Son of Nun, who in David and the prophets foretold his own sufferings, who was incarnate in the Virgin, who was born at Bethlehem, (33) who was wrapped in swaddling clothes in the manger, who was seen of the shepherds, who was glorified of the angels, who was worshipped of the Magi, 30 who was pointed out by John, who assembled the Apostles, who preached the kingdom, who healed the maimed, who gave light to the blind, who raised the dead, who appeared in the temple, who was not believed on by the people, who was betrayed by

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Judas, who was laid hold on by the priests, who was condemned by Pilate, who was transfixed in the flesh, who was hanged upon the tree, who was buried in the earth, who rose from the dead, who appeared to the Apostles, who ascended to heaven, who sitteth on the right hand of the Father, who is the rest of those that are departed, the recoverer of those who were lost, the light of those who are in darkness, the deliverer of those who are captives, the guide of those who have gone astray, the refuge of the afflicted, the bridegroom of the Church, the charioteer of the Cherubim, the captain of the angels, God who is of God, the Son who is of the Father, Jesus Christ, the King for ever and ever. Amen.

## Of Meliton, Bishop of the city of Attica. (49)

This is he that became incorporate in the Virgin, and was hanged upon a tree, and was buried in the midst of the earth, and did not undergo dissolution; he that rose from the dead, and raised 15 up men from the earth, from the nether grave to the height of This is the lamb that was slain; this is the lamb that This is He that was born of Mary a fair sheep. was dumb. This is he that was taken from the flock, and was led to the slaughter, and was slain at eventide, and was buried at night; who 20 had no bone in him broken upon the tree; who did not undergo dissolution in the midst of the earth; who rose from the dead, and raised up the race of Adam from the nether grave. This is he that was put to death. And where was he put to death? the midst of Jerusalem. By whom? By Israel: because he 25 healed their maimed, and cleansed their lepers, and gave light to their blind, and raised their dead. For this cause he died. Thou gavest the command, and he was crucified; thou wast exulting, and he was buried; thou wast reclining upon a soft bed, and he was watching in the grave and in the coffin. Oh, Israel, transgressor 30 of the law, why hast thou done this fresh wickedness, in casting the Lord into fresh sufferings; thine own Lord, who himself fashioned thee, who made thee, who honoured thee, who called thee Israel. But thou hast not been found to be Israel; for thou hast not seen God, nor understood the Lord. For thou

knewest not, oh Israel, that this was the first-born of God, who was begotten before the sun, who made the light to rise, who lighted up the day, who separated the darkness, who fixed the first foundation, who suspended the earth, who collected the ocean, who extended the firmament, who adorned the world. Bitter 5 were thy nails, and keen; bitter was thy tongue, which thou sharpenedst; bitter was that Judas, to whom thou gavest hire; bitter were thy false witnesses whom thou stirredst up; bitter was thy gall which thou preparedst; bitter was thy vinegar which thou madest; bitter were thy hands which were full of blood. Thou 10 slewest thy Lord, and he was lifted upon the tree; and a tablet was fixed up to denote who he was that was put to death. And who was this?—what we would not speak harsh, and what we would speak very terrible, nevertheless still listen while ye tremble:—He, on whose account the earth quaked: he that suspended the earth, was 15 hanged up; he that fixed the heavens was fixed with nails; he that supported the earth was supported upon a tree: the Lord was exposed to ignominy with a naked body; God put to death; the king of Israel slain by an Israelitish right hand. Ah! the fresh wickedness of the fresh murder! The Lord was ex- 20 posed with a naked body: he was not deemed worthy even of covering; but in order that he may not be seen, the lights were turned away, and the day became dark, because they were slaying God, who was naked upon the tree. It was not the body of our Lord that the lights darkened when they fled, but men's eyes; 25 for because the people quaked not, the earth quaked: because they feared not the creation feared. Thou smotest thy Lord, thou also has been smitten upon the earth; and thou indeed liest dead, but he is risen from the dead, and gone up to the heights of heaven, having suffered for the sake of those who were suffering, and 30 having been bound for the sake of the race of Adam which was in bondage, having also been judged for the sake of him who was condemned, and been buried for the sake of him who was buried.

And further on. This is he who made the heaven and the earth, and in the beginning together with the Father created 35 man; who was preached by the law and the prophets; who

was incarnate in the Virgin; who was hanged upon the tree; who was buried in the earth; who rose from the dead, and ascended to the height of heaven, and sitteth upon the right-hand of the Father.

### Of the Holy Meliton, Bishop of Ittica.

He that supported the earth was supported upon a tree. The Lord was exposed to ignominy with a naked body; God put to death: the King of Israel slain.

FROM THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH: CHAPTER THE TWENTY-FOURTH, CONCERNING THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND PHILIP, AND MODESTUS, AND MELITON, AND THOSE WHOM HE HAS MENTIONED, AND CONCERNING APOLLINARIS AND MUSANUS.

But as to Theophilus, concerning whom we have said that he was Bishop of Antioch, there are three treatises by him against Auto-10 lycus, and another which is inscribed "Against the heresy of Hermogenes," in which he uses testimonies from the Revelation of and there are other books by him which are suitable for teaching. But those, who pertained to heretical doctrine, even at that time like tares were corrupting the pure seed of the 15 doctrine of the Apostles; but the Pastors which were in the churches in every country, were driving them like beasts of the wilderness away from the flock of Christ; at one time by teaching and exhortation to the Brethren, but at another time (34) openly before their faces they contended with them in discussion, and 20 put them to shame; and again, also, by writing treatises they diligently refuted and exposed their opinions. But Theophilus, together with others, contended against them; and he is celebrated for one treatise, which was ably composed by him against Marcion, which, together with the others that I have

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already mentioned, is still preserved. And after him Maximinus received the Bishoprick of the Church of Antioch, who was the seventh after the Apostles.

But Philip, respecting whom we have learned from the words of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, that he was Bishop of the church 5 of the city of Gortyna, he also composed with accuracy a treatise against Marcion; Irenæus too, and Modestus, who, more than the others, openly exposed the error of this man; and many others whose treatises are preserved in the possession of many Brethren up to this day.

At this time, also, Meliton, Bishop of the church of Sardis, and Apollinaris, Bishop of the church of Hierapolis, flourished with praise; who made, each one of them for himself, a separate apology for the Faith, and presented it to the Emperor of the Romans, who lived at that time. But the treatises by these, with which we have 15 become acquainted, are the following:—by Meliton, On Easter two, and On Polity, and On the Prophets; and another On the Church, and another On the First Day of the Week; and again another On the Faith of Man, and another On his Formation; and again another On the Hearing of the Ear of Faith: and besides these, On the 20 Soul and Body; and again On Baptism, and On the Truth, and On the Faith; and On the Birth of Christ, and On the word of his Prophecy; and again On the Soul and on the Body; and another On the Love of Strangers, and On Satan, and On the Revelation of John; and again another On God who put on the body; 25 and again another which he wrote to the Emperor Antoninus. But when he wrote respecting the time of Easter, at the commencement he gave this information, "In the time of Servilius Paulus, proconsul of Asia, Agaris (Sagaris) suffered martyrdom; and there was much questioning in Laodicea touching 30 Easter, which varied as to the time in those days, and these things were written." But this same tract Clement of Alexandria (35) mentions in a treatise of his own which he wrote on Easter, and says that it was on the occasion of this treatise of Meliton that he himself also wrote. But in that apology, which he presented to the Emperor, 35 he relates that such things were done by him to our people: "That

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which never before took place;—the race of those who fear God is now persecuted by new decrees in Asia; for calumniators and such as covet the possessions of others, who have no shame, under the pretence of their having a decree, openly plunder 5 and rob by night and by day men who have done no wrong." And after other things he proceeds to say, "If thou hast ordered this to be done, well; it is also done; for a righteous sovereign never purposeth any thing unrighteously. We even gladly endure the honour of this death; but we present to thee this supplica-10 tion only, that thou wouldest first inquire respecting those who are the actors in this contest, and judge righteously, whether they be deserving of death and punishment, or of life and quietness. But if this will, and this new decree, be not from thee, which is not meet to be executed in this manner, not even towards barbarians 15 and enemies,—the more especially do we entreat of thee not to be unmindful of us in this persecution by the world." But after this he proceeds—"Because our philosophy first flourished among the Barbarians; but it also sprung up among thine own people in the days of Augustus, and it became for the empire of the 20 Romans a great power, and for thine own empire especially a good education; for from that time the dominion of the Romans increased and enlarged itself, which thou hast received and augmented, and thou wilt still strengthen it together with thy son, so long as thou protectest this philosophy which groweth up together with thy 25 empire, that commenced with Augustus; which thy fathers also honoured together with the other religions: and this is a great proof, that for the good of the empire our preaching also sprang up together with its auspicious commencement, because since the days of Augustus no evil has befallen your 30 empire, but rather in every thing it has acquired glory and power through the prayers of us all. And of all who have been Emperors, Nero and Domitian only gave heed to envious men, and received the accusation against our doctrine; and from these same, as by some unreasonable custom, it was brought to 35 pass that the violence of falsehood should be directed against us. (36) But thine own ancestors corrected the error of these; for oftentimes

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they rebuked by letters many who were desirous of attempting to cause troubles on this account; and thy grandfather Hadrian wrote to many touching this; and to Fundius (Fundanus) the proconsul of Asia. But thy father wrote respecting us to different cities, that no man should injure us, during the time 5 that thou also together with him wast governing every thing; even to the Pharisæans (Larissæans) and to the Thessalonians, and to Athens, and to all nations. But respecting thyself, we are persuaded that thou, still more than they, hast a good will concerning these things; and we are persuaded that thou wilt the rather 10 order with wisdom whatsoever we entreat of thee." But so far were these things set down.

But in the Extracts which were written by Meliton, at the beginning of them, he has noted down the number of the books of the Old Testament and shewn which are received: and it is 15 right we should enumerate them here. But he wrote after this manner: "Meliton to Onesimus my brother, greeting: Because oftentimes with that earnestness which thou hast touching the Word, thou hast exhorted me to make for thee Extracts from the Law and from the Prophets relating to our Saviour and to the whole 20 of our faith, and moreover hast been desirous to learn accurately respecting the Antient Books, how many they are in number and what they are consecutively, I have given diligence to do this, because I am persuaded through thy earnestness touching the faith and touching the doctrine of the Word, that thou 25 esteemest the love of God above every thing, and art striving for eternal life. When, therefore, I went up to the East, and proceeded even to that country in which they were preached and practised, and had learned accurately respecting the books of the Old Testament, I wrote them down and have sent them to thee. Their names are 30 these - Of Moses five books, Genesis, and Exodus, and Numbers, and Of the Priests (Leviticus), and Deuteronomy; and again of Jesus, the Son of Nun; and the Book of Judges, and Ruth, and four Books of Kings, and two Books of Chronicles, and the Psalms of David; and of Solomon, the Proverbs, which is Wisdom, and Koheleth, 35 and the Song of Songs; and Job; and of the Prophets, Isaiah and

Jeremiah, and the twelve Prophets together; and Daniel, and Ezekiel, and Ezra: from which same I have made Extracts, and arranged them in six discourses." All these of Meliton. And again there are also many treatises by Apollinaris which are still preserved in the possession of many; but those which have been seen by us are the following—One, which is the Apology, that was made to the same Emperor of whom we have spoken above; and Against the Heathen five books; and Against the Jews two books; and those which he composed afterwards against the heresy of the Phrygians, which had recently sprung up a little time before, because then Montanus, together with the false prophetesses which were attached to him, had begun to turn aside from the truth.

### HYPOMNEMATA,

WHICH AMBROSE, A CHIEF MAN OF GREECE, WROTE; WHO BE-CAME A CHRISTIAN: AND ALL HIS FELLOW-SENATORS RAISED A CLAMOUR AGAINST HIM; AND HE FLED FROM THEM, AND WROTE AND SHEWED THEM ALL THEIR FOLLY; AND AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS DISCOURSE HE ANSWERED AND SAID:

Do not suppose, Men and Greeks, that my separation from your customs has taken place without a befitting and just cause; for I have investigated the whole of your wisdom of poetry, and rhetoric, and philosophy; and when I found not any thing right or worthy of the Deity, I was desirous of investigating the wis-5 dom of the Christians also, and of learning and seeing who they are, and when, and what is this its recent and strange production, or on what good things they rely who follow this wisdom, so as to speak the truth.

Men and Greeks, when I had made the inquiry I found not 10 any folly, as in the famous Homer, who says respecting the wars of the two trials, "for the sake of Helen many of the Greeks perished at Troy, far from their beloved home." For first they say respecting Agamemnon their king, that through the folly of Menelaus his brother, and the vehemence of his madness, 15 and the incontinence of his lust, he was desirous to go and rescue Helen from a leprous shepherd: but when the Greeks had been

Μὴ ὑπολάβητε, ὧ ἄνδρες Έλληνες, ἄλογον ἢ ἀνεπίκριτον εἶναί μου τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐθῶν χωρισμόν οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὖρον ὅσιον ἢ θεοφιλές. Αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὑμῶν συνθέματα λύσσης καὶ ἀκρασίας ἐστί μνημεῖα. Τῷ γὰρ ἐν παιδεία παρ' ὑμῖν προὔχοντι φοιτῶν τις πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτατος. Πρώτιστα μὲν γάρ φασι τὸν ἀγαμέμνονα, τῆ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀκρασία, ἐπιτεταμένη λύσση καὶ ἀκατασχέτω ἐπιθυμία συνεργοῦντα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς θυσίαν εὐδοκήσαντα δοῦναι καὶ πᾶσαν ταράξαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα ρύσηται τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπὸ λεπροῦ ποιμένος

victorious in the war, and had burnt some cities, and taken some women and boys captive, and the land was filled with blood, and the rivers were filled with dead bodies, Agamemnon himself too was found to be taken captive by passion for Briseis: and Patroclus was slain, and Achilles, the son of the goddess Thetis, lamented over him; and Hector was dragged; and Priam, together with Hecuba, wept over the loss of their children; and Astyanax, the son of Hector, was thrown from the walls of Ilium, and his mother, Andromache, Ajax the great took; and that which had been captured in war after a little while was consumed in lust.

But respecting the perfidy of Ulysses, the son of Laertes, and his murders, who shall tell? for in one day his house became the grave for a hundred and ten suitors, and was filled with dead bodies and blood; (39) who also by his vice has gained praises, because 15 through the excess of his cunning he concealed himself: who also, as ye say, sailed over the sea, and heard not the voice of the Sirens, because he stopped his ears with wax. But Achilles himself, the son of Peleus, who leaped over the river, and put to flight the Trojans, and slew Hector, this your champion became 20 the slave of Philoxena, and was vanquished by an Amazon while

ηρπασμένην. 'Οπότε δὲ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατασχόντος αἰχμαλώτους ἤγαγον, αὐτὸς ᾿Αγαμέμνων ὑπὸ Χρυσηΐδος αἰχμάλωτος ἤγετο πρὸς τὸν Θέτιδος παιδα Βρισηΐδος ἔνεκεν ἔχθραν ἤρατο. Αὐτὸς δὲ Πηληϊάδης, ὁ ποταμὸν πηδήσας, Τροίαν καταστρέψας, "Εκτορα χειρωσάμενος, Πολυξένης ὁ ἤρως ὑμῶν δοῦλος ἢν· ὑπὸ ᾿Αμαζόνος νεκρᾶς νενίκητο τὰ θεότευκτα ὅπλα ἀποδυσάμενος, νυμφικὴν στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος, φίλτρων θῦμα ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ τοῦ ᾿Απόλλωνος νηῷ. 'Ο γὰρ Ἰθακήσιος Λαερτιάδης ἐκ κακίας ἀρετὴν ἐνεπορεύσατο ὅτι δὲ ἀγαθῆς φρονήσεως ἄμοιρος ἢν, ὁ κατὰ τὰς Σειρῆνας διάπλους ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι μὴ ἠδυνήθη φρονήσει ἐμφράξαι τὴν ἀκοήν. 'Ο Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, ὁ τὸ ἐπταβόειον φέρων σάκος, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ᾿Οδυσσέα περὶ τῶν ὅπλων κρίσιν ἡττηθείς, ὑπὸ μανίας ἡλίσκετο. Ταῦτα παιδεύεσθαι οὐ θέλω· οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιδικάζομαι,

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she lay dead: and he stripped off his armour, and put on the bridal dress, and at last was sacrificed to love.

So much, then, with respect to heroes; and I should have been satisfied for Homer to be left to thee, if thy vain words had only proceeded to speak of men, and not concerning the gods, because, 5 touching the gods, I am ashamed even to utter them; for the fabled accounts are very wicked and horrible, and surpassing all belief, and necessarily ridiculous; for a man must laugh when he approaches them, nor will he believe when he hears them: gods, indeed! who have not one of them observed the laws of righteousness, and chas- 10 tity, and modesty, but are adulterers, and have lived in dissipation, and yet have not been condemned to death, as it was just. For the Lord of the gods, that "Father of gods and men," according to what you say, was not only an adulterer, for this would have been too little, but he also slew his own father, and was a pæderast. First, 15 then, I will speak concerning his adultery, although I am ashamed, for he appeared to Antiope like a Satyr; and he dropped down upon Danae like gold; and to Europa he became a bull, and a swan

ίνα τοῖς 'Ομήρου μύθοις πείθωμαι' ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ῥαψφδία, 'Ιλιάδος τε καὶ 'Οδυσσείας ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, γυνή.

Άλλ' ἐπεὶ 'Ησίοδος μεθ' 'Όμηρον' Εργα τε καὶ 'Ημέρας συνέγραψε, τίς αὐτοῦ τῆ λήρω Θεογονία συνθήσεται; Φασὶ γὰρ Κρόνον, τὸν Οὐρανοῦ παῖδα, τῆς ἀρχῆς καθελεῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τῶν σκήπτρων λαβέσθαι, καὶ διευλαβηθέντα τὸ ὅμοιον παθεῖν τεκνοφαγεῖν ἐλέσθαι, τῆ δὲ τῶν Κουρήτων ἐπινοία τὸν Δία κλαπέντα καὶ λαθόντα δεσμοῖς καθεῖρξαι τὸν πατέρα, καὶ διανείμασθαι, ὡς λόγος, Δία μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Ποσειδώνα δὲ τὸν βυθόν, καὶ Πλουτέα τὴν καθ' ἄδου μοῖραν λαχεῖν. 'Αλλ' ὁ μεν Πλουτεὺς τὴν Κόρην ἤρπασε καὶ ἡ Δήμητρα, ἀλωμένη κατὰ τὰς ἐρήμους, τὸ τέκνον ἐζήτει. Καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον εἰς ὕψος ἤγαγε τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι πῦρ. Πάλιν ὁ Ποσειδῶν Μελανίππην μὲν ἤσχυμεν ὑδρευομένην, ὄχλω δὲ Νηρηΐδων οὐκ ὀλίγων κατεχρήσατο, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐὰν διηγώμεθα, πολὺ πλῆθος λόγων κατατρίψομεν 'Ο μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς μοιχὸς πολλαχῆ' ἐπ' Άντιόπη μὲν ὡς σάτυρος καὶ Δανάη χρυσὸς καὶ ἐπ' Εὐρωπη

to Leda. But the love of Semele, the mother of Bacchus, proved both his own importunity, and also the jealousy of the chaste Juno. And he caught up Ganymede the Phrygian like an eagle, in order that a beautiful and becoming boy might be his cupbearer. More-5 over that Lord of the gods slew Saturn his own Father, in order that he might seize upon his kingdom. Oh! of how many censures is the Lord of the gods guilty, and to how many deaths is he obnoxious, as an adulterer, and as a sorcerer, and as a pæderast? Read to the Lord of the gods, oh men and Greeks, the law 10 respecting parricide, and the sentence against adultery, and the shame of the obscenity of pæderastism. For how many adulterers has the Lord of the gods instructed? For how many pæderasts, and sorcerers, and murderers? for if a man be found to be guilty of lust, he shall not be put to death, because he does 15 this to be like the Lord of the gods; and if he be detected as a murderer, he has an apology in the Lord of the gods; and if a man be a sorcerer, he has learnt it from the Lord of the gods; and if he be (40) a pæderast, the Lord of the gods is his advocate.

ταῦρος ἢν, ἐπτεροῦτο δὲ παρὰ Λήδα. 'Ο γὰρ Σεμέλης ἔρως καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ἤλεγξε καὶ τῆς "Ηρας τὸν ζῆλον. Τὸν γὰρ Φρύγα Γανυμήδην, φασίν, εἰς τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν ἀνήρπασε. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Κρονίδαι ἐποίησαν. 'Ο γὰρ μεγαλώνυμος ὑμῶν ὁ Λητοίδης, ὁ μαντικὴν ἐπαγγειλάμενος, ἑαυτὸν ἤλεγξεν ὅτι ψεύδεται. Δάφνην ἐδίωξεν, ἢν οὐ κατέλαβε καὶ τῷ ἐρομένῳ αὐτὸν Αἰακίδη θρησκεύοντι τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον οὐκ ἐμαντεύσατο. 'Αθηνᾶς γὰρ τὸ ἀνδρικὸν συγῶ καὶ Διονύσου τὸ θηλυκὸν καὶ Άφροδίτης τὸ πορνικόν. 'Ανάγνωτε τῷ Διί, ἄνδρες "Ελληνες, τὸν κατὰ πατραλφῶν νόμον καὶ τὸ μοιχείας πρόστιμον καὶ τὴν παιδεραστίας αἰσχρότητα. Διδάξατε 'Αθηνᾶν καὶ 'Αρτεμιν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἀνδρῶν. Τί σεμνὸν ἐπιδείκνυται γυνὴ ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένη, ἀνὴρ δὲ κυμβάλοις καὶ στέμμασι καὶ ἐσθῆτι γυναικεία καλλωπιζόμενος καὶ ὀργιῶν σὺν ἀγέλη γυναικῶν;

Τον γὰρ τριέσπερον 'Αλκείδην, τῶν ἀγώνων ἡγήτορα, 'τὸν δι' ἀνδρείαν ἀδόμενον, τὸν τοῦ Διὸς υίόν, δς βριαρὸν κατέπεφνε λέοντα

But if a man should speak about courage, Achilles was braver than the Lord of the gods, because he slew him who had slain his friend; but the Lord of the gods wept over Sarpendon, his own son, while he was dying, being very sorry. And Pluto, who also is a god, ravished Proserpine, but the mother of 5 Proserpine was in great trepidation, and searching for her daughter in every desert. And Alexander Paris, when he had carried off Helen, received the judgment of vengeance, as being her lover by force; but Pluto, who was a god, and ravished Proserpine, remained without any disgrace. And Menelaus, who was a 10 man, knew how to go in search of Helen his wife, but Ceres, who was a goddess, knew not where to look for her daughter Proserpine. Let Vulcan pass over his jealousy, and be not envious, for he is forgotten because he is old and lame; but Mars is loved because he is a youth and beautiful in stature. But there was the 15 reproach of adultery because Vulcan was not aware of the love of his wife Venus and Mars; but when he did know, Vulcan said, "Come, see a ridiculous and foolish deed, how me, who am her own, Venus, the daughter of the Lord of the gods, is disgracing me, who am her own, and honouring Mars who is a 20 stranger to her. And is it not a shameful thing for the Lord of the gods, because he loved those which were like these? And Penelope continued as a widow twenty years, because she was expecting her husband Ulysses, and was employed with works, and diligent in occupations during the time that all those suitors were urging her; 25 but Venus, who is a goddess, while her husband Vulcan was present with her, abandoned him because she was overcome by love for Mars.

Hear, men and Greeks, which of you would dare to do this, or

καὶ πολύκρανον ὤλεσεν ὕδραν. \*Υν δ' ἄγριον ἀκάματον ὁ νεκρώσας, ὅρνιθας δ' ἀνδροβόρους ἱπταμένας καθελεῖν ὁ δυνηθείς, καὶ κύνα τρικάρηνον ἐξ ἄδου ἀναγαγών, Αὐγείου δ' ὀχυρὸν τεῖχος σκυβάλων καθελεῖν ὁ δυνηθείς, ταύρους δὲ καὶ ἔλαφον ἀνελὼν ὧν μυξωτῆρες ἔπνεον πῦρ, καὶ καρπὸν χρύσεον στελέχους ἔλαβεν, ἑρπετὸν ἰοβόλον ἀνελών καὶ 'Αχελῷον, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἔκτανεν οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν,

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could even bear to behold it. And if one should dare, what torment is reserved for him, or what stripes? Nevertheless, Saturn, who is a god, who ate up all those children, is not even brought before a tribunal. They say, however, that the Lord of the gods, his son, 5 only escaped from him, and the madness of his father Saturn was deceived, because Rhea his wife, the mother of the Lord of the gods, gave him a stone instead of his son the Lord of the gods, to prevent him from devouring him. Hear, men and Greeks, and reflect upon this madness; for the brute beast, that feedeth in 10 the field knoweth its own food, and will not touch strange food; likewise the animals and the reptiles too, and the birds also, know their own food; but respecting men it is not meet(41) for me to say any thing: you know indeed their food, and understand; but Saturn, who is a god, not knowing his proper food, swallowed a stone. 15 Wherefore, oh men and Greeks, if ye be willing to have such gods, do not blame one another whenever ye do such things as these; and be not thou angry against thy son when he purposeth to kill thee, because he is imitating the Lord of the gods. And if a man be guilty of adultery with thy wife, why dost thou 29 reckon him as an enemy, and yet worshippest and servest the Lord of the gods, who resembles him? And why dost thou blame thy wife, when she is guilty of adultery and is without punishment, but honourest Venus and settest her in temples? Persuade Solon to break his own laws, Lycurgus also to abstain from 25 making laws, and let the judges of the Areopagus break theirs and not judge again, nor let there be any more councils for the

καὶ τὸν ξενοκτόνον Βούσιριν, καὶ ὄρη πηδήσας ἵνα λάβη ὕδωρ ἔναρθρον φωνὴν ἀποδιδόν, ὡς λόγος ὁ τὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα δρᾶσαι δυνηθείς, ὡς νήπιος ὑπὸ σατύρων κατακυμβαλισθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικείου ἔρωτος ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυδῆς γελώσης κατὰ γλουτῶν τυπτόμενος ἡδετο καὶ τέλος, τὸν Νέσσειον χιτῶνα ἀποδύσασθαι μὴ δυνηθείς, πυρὰν κατ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ποιήσας τέλος ἔλαβε τοῦ βίου. Θέτω τὸν ζῆλον "Ηφαιστος, καὶ μὴ φθονείτω εἰ πρεσβύτης ὢν καὶ κυλλὸς τὸν πόδα μεμίσητο, "Αρης δὲ πεφίλητο νέος ὢν καὶ ὡραῖος. Ἐπεὶ οὖν, ἄνδρες "Ελληνες, οἱ μὲν θεοὶ ὑμῶν

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Athenians. Let the Athenians dismiss Socrates, for no one resembling Saturn has ever been brought before him. Neither let them put Orestes, who slew his own mother, to death; for, lo! the Lord of the gods has done worse things than these to his father. Œdipus also too hastily inflicted injury upon himself, 5 who put out his eyes because he had slain his father unawares, because he did not look to the Lord of the gods, who killed his father, and remained without any punishment. The Corinthians also expelled Medæa, because she had slain her children, but they serve and honour Saturn, who ate up his own children. And as for 10 Alexander Paris, he did right in ravishing Helen in order that he might imitate the god Pluto, who carried off Proserpine.

Let men be freed from the laws, and let cities belong to lascivious women, and be the abode of sorcerers; for this reason, oh men and Greeks, because your gods are debased like yourselves, 15 but your warriors are brave as your dramas relate, and your histories proclaim; respecting the furies of Orestes, and the bed of Thyestes, and the pollution of Pelops; and concerning Danaus, who through his jealousy slew and cut off some of his sons in their banqueting; and also the feasting of Thyestes upon 25 a corpse in vengeance, and Procne up to this time crying as she flies, and also her sister piping with her tongue cut out. what is it fit to say respecting the murder of Œdipus, who married his own mother, and whose brothers, who were also his own sons, slew one another?

And I hate also your festivals, for there is no moderation there

Καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὑμῶν μεμίσηκα ἄμετροι γὰρ ἐκεῖ πλησμο-

ύπὸ ἀκρασίας ἢλέγχθησαν, ἄνανδροι δὲ οἱ ἥρωες ὑμῶν, ὡς αἱ παρ' ύμιν δραματουργοί ίστορίαι έδήλωσαν, τὰ μὲν ἀτρέως ἄγη, Θυέστου λέχη, καὶ Πελοπιδών μύση, καὶ Δαναὸν φθόνω φονεύοντα, καὶ ἀτεκνοῦντα μεμεθυσμένον, καὶ τὰ Θυέστεια δεῖπνα ὰ Ἐριννύες Καὶ Πρόκνη μέχρι νῦν ἐπτερωμένη γοᾳ, καὶ ταύτης άδελφη γλωσσοτόμητος τέτριγεν η Κεκροπίς. Τὰ γὰρ Οἰδίποδος κέντρα τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, καὶ τὸν Λαΐου φόνον καὶ μητρὸς γάμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνων ἄμα ἀλληλοκτονίαν;

to the sweet pipes that drive away care, which play with a tremulous motion, and the preparation of the unguents with which ye anoint yourselves,(42) and the garlands which ye put on. And in the abundance of your wickedness ye have forgotten 5 shame, your understandings also are blinded, ye have been tempted too by importunity, and have loved the bed of lying. And if these things had been said by another, perhaps they would have brought an accusation against him that they are not true; but your own poets declare them, and your songs and dramas proclaim 10 them. Come, then, and be instructed by the Word of God, and by consoling wisdom: rejoice and partake of it: know too the King incorruptible, and become acquainted with his servants, which boast not in armour, neither make slaughter: because our Captain delighteth not in the multitude of an army, neither in the horse-15 men and in their beauty, nor in the illustriousness of family; but he delighteth in the pure soul, which a wall of justice sur-

ναί, καὶ αὐλοὶ γλαφυροὶ ἐκκαλούμενοι πρὸς οἰστρώδεις κινήσεις, καὶ μύρων περίεργοι χρίσεις, καὶ στεφάνων περιθέσεις. Καὶ τῷ τοσούτῷ σωρῷ τῶν κακῶν τὴν αἰδῶ περιγράφετε, καὶ νοῦν πληροῦσθε, ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας ἐκβακχευόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἀνοσίαις καὶ λυσσώδεσι χρᾶσθαι εἰώθατε μίξεσιν. Εἴποιμι δ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο Τί ἀγανακτεῖς, Ελλην ὤν, πρὸς τὸ τέκνον σοῦ, εἰ τὸν Δία μιμούμενος ἐπιβουλεύει σοὶ καὶ ἐπ' ἴσου τὸν γάμον σεσύληκε; Τί τοῦτον ἐχθρὸν ἡγῆ, τὸν δὲ ὅμοιον αὐτῷ σέβη; Τί δὲ μέμφη σοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀκολάστως ζῶσαν, τὴν δὲ ᾿Αφροδίτην ναοῖς τετίμηκας; Καὶ εἰ μὲν ταῦτα ὑφ ἐτέρων ἢν εἰρημένα, κατηγορία ἔδοξεν εἶναι ψιλὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια νῦν δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἄδουσι ποιηταί, καὶ αἱ παρ' ὑμῖν κεκράγασιν ἱστορίαι.

"Ελθετε λοιπόν, ἄνδρες "Ελληνες, καὶ σοφία ἀπαραμιλλήτω κοινωνήσατε, καὶ θείω λόγω παιδεύθητε, καὶ μάθετε βασιλέα ἄφθαρτον καὶ τοὺς τούτου ήρωας ἐπίγνωτε οὔποτε λαοῖς φόνον ἐργαζομένους. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐ βούλεται σωμάτων ἀλκὴν καὶ τύπων εὐμορφίαν οὐδ' εὐγενίας φρύαγμα, ἀλλὰ ψυχήν τε καθαράν, ὁσιότητι τετειχισμένην, ἤδη δὲ διηνεκῶς ἐπιστατῶν

rounds. But the Word of God is always instructing us, and the promises of our good King and the works of God. Oh the soul that is purchased by the power of the Word! oh the trumpet of peace without war! oh the doctrine quenching the natural fire of the soul, which maketh not poets, nor produceth philosophers, nor the scrowd-followed orator; but goeth and maketh the dead pass over that he die not, and raiseth men from earth as Gods, to the region which is above the firmament. Come, be instructed, and be like me, for I also have been like you.

ήμιν ὁ θείος λόγος, καὶ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ήμῶν συνθήματα, πράξεις θείας, ώς διὰ λόγου δυνάμεως εἰς ψυχὴν διϊκνουμένης. ὢ σάλπιγξ είρηνική ψυχής πολεμουμένης, & παθών δεινών φυγαδευτήριον, & πυρὸς ἐμψύχου σβεστικὸν διδασκάλιον! ήτις οὐ ποιητὰς ποιεῖ, οὐ φιλοσόφους κατασκευάζει οὐδὲ ῥήτορας δεινούς, ἀλλὰ παιδεύουσα ποιεί τοὺς θνητοὺς ἀθανάτους, τοὺς βροτοὺς θεούς ἐκ γῆς δὲ μετάγει είς τοὺς ὑπὲρ "Ολυμπον όρους. "Ελθετε, παιδεύθητε γίνεσθε ώς έγώ, ότι κάγω ήμην ως ύμεις. Ταθτά με είλε, τό τε της παιδείας ένθεον καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου δυνατόν ότι καθάπερ ἐπαοιδὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐκ φωλεου έξερπύσαι ποιήσας φυγαδεύει δεινον έρπετόν, ούτως ο λόγος έξ αὐτῶν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μυχῶν τὰ δεινὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἀπελαύνει πάθη πρώτον ἐπιθυμίαν, δι' ής πάν δεινὸν φύεται, ἔχθραι, ἔρεις ζηλος, ἐριθεῖαι, θυμοί, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις. Ἐπιθυμίας οὖν ἀπελαθείσης εὔδιος ή ψυχὴ καὶ γαληνιῶσα γίνεται. Παραλυθεῖσα δὲ των περί τον τράχλον αὐτης κακων περιβρεόντων ἀπέρχεται προς τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτήν δεῖ γὰρ ἀποκατασταθῆναι ὅθεν ἀπέστη, εθεν τις έγένετο ή έστιν.

# THE EPISTLE OF MARA, SON OF SERAPION.

MARA, SON OF SERAPION, TO SERAPION MY SON, GREETING.

When thy master and tutor wrote to me a letter, and informed me that thou art very dililgent in learning for a child of few years, I blessed God, that thou, being a little boy without one to guide thee, hast begun with a good intention; and as for me myself this 5 has been a consolation to me, that respecting thee, a little boy I have heard, of this greatness of mind and good conscience, such as does not readily remain in many. On this account, lo! I have written to thee this memorial of what I have experienced in the world; for the manner of men's living has been experienced by me, 10 and I have walked in instruction, and all those things of the instruction of the Greeks I have found them wrecked together with the birth of life. Be careful, therefore, my son, of those things which are suitable for such as be free, to meditate upon learning, and to pursue after wisdom: and in this manner reckon to be confirmed in that 15 with which thou hast begun; and remember my injunctions with diligence, as a quiet man, who loveth discipline: and although it appear to thee to be very bitter, when thou shalt experience it for a little while, it will be very pleasant to thee, because so also it hath happened to me. But a man when he shall be departed from among 20 his family, and shall be able to retain his own habit, and shall do with justice whatsoever is proper for him, he is that chosen man who is called the Blessing of God, and with whose liberty nothing else can be compared. For such men as are called to discipline, seek to disentangle themselves from the struggle of the time; and 25 such as lay hold upon wisdom are elevated by the hope of righteousness; and those that stand in the truth exhibit the standard of their virtue; and those that devote themselves to philosophy look to escape from the miseries of the world. But thou, too, my son, conduct thyself so wisely in these things, as a wise 30 man who endeavoureth to spend a pure life: and beware lest the acquisition of wealth, which the many thirst after, subdue thee, and

thy mind be turned to desire riches which are not real; for neither when men obtain their desire do they abide, not even while they continue in righteousness: and all these things which are seen by thee in the world, as of one who is for a short (44) time, are to be dissolved like a dream; for they are the ups and downs of the times. 5

And as to vain glory, which occupies the life of men, thou considerest not that it is one of those things which give us joy: speedily it becometh an injury to us: and especially the birth of beloved children. For in both these things the contest of feelings hurts us: for as to the good, love for them torments us, and 10 we are attracted by their manners; and as to the vicious, we labour for their correction, and grieve over their vices.

For I have heard respecting our companions, that when they were departing from Samosta it grieved them; and like those who blame the time, they also spake after this manner: "Henceforth we 15 are driven far away from the habitation of men, and we are not allowed to return to our city, and to behold our men, and to embrace our gods with praise." It is meet that that should be called a day of lamentation, because one heavy grief laid hold upon them all equally. For with tears they remembered their 20 fathers, and with sighs their mothers, and they grieved over their brethren, and sorrowed over their betrothed whom they left behind: and when we heard the report of their former companions, that they were going to Seleucia, we went secretly on the way towards them, and joined our trouble with theirs. Then was 25 our sorrow very vehement, and justly was our weeping augmented by our loss, and the dark cloud collected our sighs, and our trouble was increased from the mountain, for not one among us was able to quell the miseries which were upon him. For the love of life was retained together with the pains of death, and our misfor- 30 tunes drove us out of the way; for we beheld our brethren and our children as captives, and we remembered our companions that were dead, who were laid in a country not their own: and each of us was also anxious about himself, lest affliction should be added to affliction, or another grief should overtake the one which preceded it.

What advantage do men that are imprisoned gain from having

experienced these things! But as for thee, my beloved, let it not grieve thee that thy loneliness has been driven from place to place; because men are born for this end, to receive the accidents of the time. But thus reckon thou, that for wise men every place is equally 5 the same; and for the virtuous, fathers and mothers abound in every city. Even indeed from thine own self take the trial. How many men, who know thee not, love thee as their own children, and a multitude of women receive thee like their own beloved ones. Verily as a stranger thou hast been successful, verily for thy little love many men have desired thee.

What, then, have we to say (45) touching the error which has come into the world? Both the progress in it is with heavy labour, and we are shaken by its commotions like a reed by the wind. For I have wondered at many that cast away their children, and I have martelled at others that brought up those which were not their own: there are some that acquire the riches in the world, and I have also marvelled at others who inherit that which is not their own. Thus understand and see that it is in the path of error we are walking.

A sage among men once began to say to us: On which of all possessions can a man rely? Or respecting what things can we speak as if they are enduring? On abundance of riches? they are snatched away. On fortresses? they are plundered. On cities? they are laid waste. On greatness? it is brought low. On splendour? it is overthrown. On beauty? it withereth. On laws? they pass away. On poverty? it is despised. On children? they die. On friends? they become false. On honours? envy goeth before them.

Let a man therefore rejoice in his empire like Darius, and in his prosperity like Polycrates, or in his valour like Achilles, or in his wife like Agamemnon, or in his offspring like Priam, or in his skill like Archimedes, or in his wisdom like Socrates, or in his learning like Pythagoras, or in his enlightenment like Palamedes—the life of men, my son, departs from the world, but their praises and their virtues continue for ever.

But thou, my little son, choose for thyself that which fadeth not away, because they that occupy themselves in such things are called

modest and beloved, and lovers of a good name: but whenever any evil thing opposeth thee, blame not man, nor be angry against God, neither murmur against thy time. If thou continue in this mind, thy gift is not a small one which thou hast received from God, which standeth not in need of riches, nor is brought near to po- 5 verty, because thou wilt perform thy part in the world without fear, and with rejoicing: for fear and excuse of that which cometh naturally is not for the sake of the wise, but for the sake of those who walk without law; because a man has never been stripped of his wisdom in the same manner as of his wealth. Be careful for know- 10 ledge rather than for riches, for by how much the more possessions increase, by so much the more does evil abound. For I have seen that where good things abound, so also (46) misfortunes oppose; and where honours are brought, there also sorrows collect themselves; and where riches are multiplied, there is the bitterness of many 15 years. If, therefore, thou art wise, and diligently keepest watch, God will not cease from helping thee, nor men from loving thee. Whatsoever thou art able to acquire, let that be sufficient for thee; and if indeed thou be able to do without possessions, then shalt thou be called blessed, because no one will even envy thee. 20 And remember this too, that nothing troubles thy life very greatly except possessions, that no man after his death is called master of possessions: because weak men are led captive by the lust of them, and know not that a man dwells like a stranger in his possessions: and they are fearful because they are not secured for 25 them; for they have forsaken that which is their own, and seek that which is not theirs.

For what else have we to say, when wise men are forcibly dragged by the hands of tyrants, and their wisdom is taken captive by calumny, and they are oppressed in their intelligence without 30 defence? For what advantage did the Athenians gain by the murder of Socrates, the recompense of which they received in famine and pestilence? Or the people of Samos by the burning of Pythagoras, because in one hour their country was entirely covered with sand? Or the Jews by the death of their wise 35 king, because from that same time their kingdom was taken away?

For with justice did God make recompense to the wisdom of these three: for the Athenians died of famine; and the Samians were overwhelmed by the sea without remedy; and the Jews, desolate and driven from their own kingdom, are scattered through every country. Socrates is not dead, because of Plato; neither Pythagoras, because of the statue of Juno; nor the Wise King, because of the laws which he promulgated.

But I, my son, have experienced in what wretched misery men stand; and I have wondered that they are not overwhelmed by the 10 evils which surround them. Not even wars are sufficient for them, nor griefs, nor sicknesses, nor death, nor poverty; but like vicious beasts they attack one another in hatred, which of them shall inflict the greater evil upon his fellow. For they have gone beyond the limits of truth, and transgress all good laws, because they 15 hang upon their own lust: for so long as a man coveteth that which he lusteth after, how is he able to do with justice that which is befitting him? And they acknowledge no moderation, and seldom do they stretch forth their hands towards truth (47) and virtue, but conduct themselves in their manner of living like the 20 dumb and the blind. The wicked rejoice, and the righteous are troubled: he that hath denieth, and he that hath not striveth to acquire: the poor beg, and the rich conceal: and every one laugheth at his neighbour: the drunken are crazy, and those that have recovered themselves repent: some of them weep, and some sing, 25 and others laugh; others, care has seized upon them: they rejoice in evil things; and they reject the man who speaketh the truth. A man may then wonder, while the world consumes in derision, while they have not one manner of living, they are anxious about these things; and one of them is looking when he shall acquire the 30 name of victory in battle; and the brave look not to how many foolish lusts a man is led captive in the world. But I could wish also that repentance had recurred to them a little, who conquer by their might, and are condemned by their cupidity. For I have tried men; and thus have I tried them, that they look to this 35 one thing—to abundance of riches; and on this account they have no firm counsel, but by the change of their minds each is

speedily cast down to be absorbed in grief; and they regard not the vast riches of the world, that whatever there be of trouble it brings us all equally to the same time; for they depend upon the majesty of the belly, that great disgrace of the corrupt.

But this which comes into my mind to write to thee, it is not 5 enough to read it, but it should also proceed to practise. For I know too, that when thou shalt experience this manner of living, it will please thee much, and thou wilt be free from evil indignation, that on children's account we endure riches. Separate henceforth from thee the cherished grief of men, a thing which never profits at 10 all; and drive away from thee that care which produceth no advantage, for we have no means and discretion except in magnanimity, to be equal to the misfortunes and to endure the griefs, which we are always receiving at the hands of the times; for it behoveth us to look to these things, and not to those which pertain to joy and 15 a good name. Apply thyself to wisdom, the fountain of all good things, and the treasure which fadeth not, and there shalt thou lay thine head and rest, for she will be to thee a father and a mother, and a good companion for life. Have all familiarity with perseverance and patience, which are able to meet all the tribu- 20 lations of weak men; for in this manner is their power great, because they can bear hunger, (48) and endure thirst, and they But of labour and death they also derefresh every grief. Attend to these, and thou shalt pass a tranquil life, clare. and thou wilt be to me a consolation, while thou shalt be 25 called the Ornament of his parents. For at that former time, while our city was standing in its magnificence, thou mayst know that against many men abominable words were uttered. But we also acknowledged from the Time, that we fully received from its majesty appropriate love and beauty; but the Time forbade 30 us to complete those things which were resolved upon in our mind. And here, too, in prison we give thanks to God that we have obtained the love of many; for we essayed our soul to continue in wisdom and in rejoicing. But if any drive us by force, he will proclaim the witness against himself, that he is far 35 removed from all good things, and will receive disgrace and

shame from the vile object of shame. For we have shewn our truth, that we have no vice in an empire. But if the Romans will permit us to return to our country in justice and righteousness, let them act like humane men, and they will be called good and righteous, and the country in which they abide will also be in tranquillity. For let them shew their own greatness by leaving us free. Let us be obedient to that dominion which the Time has assigned to us, and let them not, like tyrants, treat us as slaves; and whatever may be decreed to take place, we shall not receive any thing more than the tranquil death which is reserved for us.

But thou, my little son, if thou desirest diligently to know these things, first govern lust, and apply moderation to that in which thou abidest, be satisfied, and beware lest thou be angry:

15 and instead of rage be obedient to virtue. For I now am meditating upon this, that, as I recollect, I may leave for myself a book, and with a prudent mind may accomplish the path to which I am condemned, and may escape without sorrow from the evil destruction of the world. For I pray to receive dissolution, and what death, it matters not to me. But and if any grieve or be anxious, I counsel him not: for there in the way of life of the whole world he will find us before him.

One of his friends asked Mara, the son of Serapion, when he was in bonds by his side, "On thy life, Mara, I pray thee tell me what laughable thing has appeared to thee that thou laughedst?" Mara said to him, "I was laughing at the Time, because, without having borrowed any evil from me, it repays me."

HERE ENDETH THE EPISTLE OF MARA, SON OF SERAPION.

#### NOTES.

#### BARDESAN.

- P.1. Book of the Laws of Countries. The title of this treatise is given by Eusebius, Ec. Hist. b. iv. c. 30, 'Ο περὶ εἰμαρμένης διάλογος; by Epiphanius, Κατὰ εἰμαρμένης, Panarium adversus Hæres.; 36, p. 477.
- This is the pronunciation according to the Shemashgram. vowels which have been added by a later hand. In Greek it is written Σαμψιγέραμος. There was a king of Emesa so called, whose daughter was married to Aristobulus: See Josephus, Antiq. Jud. b. 18, c. 6, and b. 19, c. 8. A Priest of Venus at Emesa of this name went out to meet Sapor, king of Persia, when he advanced against that city in the reign of the Emperor Valerian. See Johannes Malela, Chronograph. vol. i. p. 391, edit. Oxon. 1691. In Strabo the name is written Σαμψικέραμος. Geog. b. 16. p. 753, edit. Casaubon, 1620. M. Renan has mistaken this for the name of a place, and supposed the particle and verb [2] which follow to be the name of a person. It is hardly possible to commit a greater number of errors in the same space than M. Renan has fallen into in translating the first lines of this treatise. "Il y a quelques jours, en allant visiter à Schemsgarm notre frère Évéthès, nous y rencontrames Bardesane, qui, après s'être assuré de notre santé," &c. See "Lettre à M. Reinaud sur quelques manuscrits Syriaques du Musée Britannique," in Journal Asiatique. 1852.
- L. 8. Avida. This name is given by Epiphanius 'A  $\beta \epsilon \iota \delta a$ , the vau being sounded like  $\beta$ , as in Fam Sibylla, p. 10, L. 5. M. Renan has again fallen into an error here, and translated this man's name "un de nos compagnons," adding, in a note, "Je suppose que le traducteur a lu  $\sigma vv \eta \theta \epsilon \iota \alpha$  (10) au lieu  $\sigma vv \eta \theta \eta s$ ." Apparently he was ignorant of the account given by Epiphanius, and has assumed against all authority that Bardesan wrote this treatise in Greek.
- P. 3. L. 20. Compare what is here said about man's free agency with Justin Martyr. Apol. i. c. 7, 43; Origen, De Princip. iii. c. 1; Philocalia c. xxvi.
- P. 4. L. 14. Being. The Syriac word is [22], which is often used for Æon. See Hahn, Bardesanes Gnosticus, p. 58, et seq.

L. 15. Established. The original word is  $\sim \Delta \Delta$  from  $\sim \tilde{\lambda}$ , which corresponds with the Greek term  $\delta \eta \mu \iota o \nu \rho \gamma \epsilon \omega$ .

L. 16. Image of Elohim בצלם אלהים, the Hebrew בצלם אלהים, retained by Bardesan: the Peshito renders מבלא (בפל המים). Gen. i. 27.

ב. 36. The Angels. Bardesan takes here בני אלהום, Pesh. בני אלהוט, γωσιαΣ], Sept. νίοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Gen. vi. 2, to be 'angels.' phus: Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, γυναιξὶ συμμιγέντες, ύβριστὰς ἐγέννησαν παίδας, καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπτας καλοῦ: Antiq. Jud. b. 1. c. 3. Justin Martyr: Οι δὲ ἄγγελοι παραβάντες τήνδε τὴν τάξιν, γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν, καὶ παίδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἱ εἰσὶν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες. Apol. ii. c. 5. Clemens Alexandrinus: 'Αγγελοί τινες ἀκρατεῖς γενόμενοι, ἐπιθυμία ἀλόντες, οὐρανόθεν δευρο καταπεπτώκασιν: Strom. b. 3. And again, Οι άγγελοι έκεινοι οι τον άνω κληρον είληχότες, κατολισθήσαντες είς ήδονας, έξειπον τα απόρρητα ταις γυναιξίν, b. 5. Edit. Potter. pp. 538, 650. Tertullian. "Nam et illi, qui ea constituerunt, damnati in pœnam mortes deputantur, illi scilicet angeli, qui ad filias hominum de cœlo ruerunt.—Utrumne mulieres sine materiis splendoris et sine ingeniis decoris placere non possent hominibus, quæ, adhuc incultæ et incompostæ et ut ita dixerim, crudæ ac rudes angelos, moverant?" See De Cultu fæminarum, i. c. 2. See also De Idolatria, c. ix. Sulpitius Severus: "Angeli, quibus cœlum sedes erat, speciosarum forma virginum capti, illicitas cupiditates appetierunt: ac naturæ suæ originisque degeneres, relictis Superioribus, quorum incolæ erant, matrimoniis se mortalibus miscuerunt:" De Sacra Historia, b. i. p. 7. Lactantius: "Misit angelos ad tutelam cultumque generis humanii——. Itaque illos cum hominibus commorantes dominator ille terræ fallacissinus consuetudine ipsa paulatim ad vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit." Institut. Divin. lib. ii. c. 14. author of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. "Εθελξαν τοὺς Έγρηγόρους προ του κατακλυσμου, κακείνοι συνεχώς ορώντες αὐτὰς, ἐγένοντο ἐν ἐπιθυμία άλλήλων κ.τ.λ. Test. Reuben, c. 5. Grabe, Spicilegium. Vol. 1. This opinion of the more antient Christian writers Chrysostom refutes, Homil. 22 in Genes. Edit. Paris, 1614, p. 249; Theodoretus, Quæst. in Genesin, 47; and Augustin: although in the copies of Genesis, which he used, the term 'angels' was found, "Nam et Canonica Scriptura sic loquitur, in quo libro hæc legimus, cujus verba ista sunt. Et factum est postquam cæperunt homines multi fieri super terram et filiæ natæ sunt illis, videntes Angeli Dei filias hominum, quia bonæ sunt, sumpserunt sibi uxores ex omnibus quas elegerunt.

De Civitate Dei b. xv. c. 23. The opinion generally held is this of Augustin and others, that the בני אלהים, the "Sons of God," were the descendants of Seth. In this the Book of Adam, lately translated from the Ethiopic by Dillman, concurs: "Die kinder Seths aber, die oben auf dem berge waren, hatten gepflegt zu beten and God zu lobpreisen anstatt der schaaren (der engel) die gefallen waren, und Gott hatte ihnen den namen "engel" gegeben und sich sehr über sie gefreut: " Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes, in Ewald's "Jahrbucher der Biblichen wissenschaft," 1853. p. 93. I find the same notion in the Cave of Treasures, محافظه ومنان ومن بعده واعدامه وحداه والاعدام والمرابع والمرابع المرابع ٥٥٠ مره كحديم والى بعدي حسره معلى وبلا دوسيا ودورهم مهد اعمين قدم مدل حدود إ وزيد الم مور موم حدد مام كمودوره وحدد مدلا مدد، دمن أبر متفال مدلاً: ولادمان وادب دمن بارهما، בוב לבבון יכנה מונים מולים אולים מונים לבבון יכנה מונים יכנה מונים לבבון יכנה מונים לבבון יכנה מונים מונים לבבו the commandment of Jared and to the words of Enoch, and they dared to transgress the commandment, and went down an hundred men mighty in valour, and when they beheld the daughters of Cain, that they were fair to look upon, and that without modesty they were unveiled, the sons of Seth were inflamed with the fire of lust; and when the daughters of Cain beheld their beauty they flew upon them like corrupt beasts, and defiled their bodies, and the sons of Seth lost themselves in fornication with the daughters of Cain." fol. 11. Respecting the 11 2:50 see my Corpus Ignatianum, pp. 286, 360.

P. 5, L. 13. Beings when they are set in order, حدم الكما أحكم بالكام أعلى المعادية أعلى المعادية المع

P. 6, L. 25. Tares, I have rendered as in our English version: properly [] ζιζάνια.

L. 31. Governors, lippis.

P. 8, L. 1. The nature of man, &c. It will be seen, upon comparing the passage comprised in this and the following pages with that cited by Eusebius, *Præpar. Evan.* vi. c. 10, printed below, that the Greek varies considerably from the Syriac: there are many interpolations which are not found in the original; and again several sentences of the Syriac have been omitted in the Greek.

P. 11, L. 2. Fortune 2. The corresponding Greek term is γένεσις.

- L. 4. O Philip and Baryama. I am not sure respecting this latter word, whether it be a proper name or not: perhaps \( \subseteq \subsete
- P. 15, L. 26. Associations. Oct. Julius Firmicus Maternus calls this "radiationis societas." See Ad Mavortium Lollian. Astron. b. ii. c. 26. Edit. 1551, p. 36.
- L. 30. The doctrine of both countries is the same. The Chaldeans, according to Diodorus Siculus, were a colony from Egypt, Bibl. Hist. b. i, p. 73. Edit. Hanoviæ, 1604. Clemens Alexandrinus writes Αἰγύπτιοι γοῦν πρῶτοι ἀΑστρολογίαν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐξηνέγκαν ὁμοίως δὲ Χαλδαῖοι: Stromat. i. p. 361. Cited also by Euseb. Præp. Evang. x. 6. See also Gallæus, De Sibyllis, p. 484. Julius Firmicus says that he has embodied in his treatise on Astrology all that the Egyptians and Babylonians had said on this head. "Hæc cum omnia mihi a te, Mavorti, ornamentum bonorum, facili demonstrationis magisterio traderentur, ausus sum etiam ipse aliquid inconsulti sermonis temeritate proferre, ut promitterem me tibi editurum, quicquid Ægyptii veteres, sapientes ac divini viri, Babyloniique prudentes, de vi stellarum ac potestatibus divinæ nobis doctrinæ magisterio tradiderunt." See Præfat. The reader who is desirous of further information as to many astrological questions alluded to by Bardesan will find them stated fully by Julius Firmicus.
- P. 16, L. 7. Seres. Respecting these see Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. c. 17; Solinus c. 53; Pomponius Mela i. c. 2; Vetus orbis descriptio Græci Scriptoris sub Constantio. Ed. J. Gothofred. Genevæ, 1628, p. 1.
- L. 11. The fierce, Syr. [], "Αζιζος, as Julian has it. Eusebius renders πυριλαμπέος; and so also Cæsarius, whose version is independent of that used by Eusebius. See p. 35, L. 30. Ruffinus in the Recognitions: "stella Martis ignita."
- P. 17, L. 1. Of the Brahmins. For the account of the Brahmins amongst the ancients, see Palladius, De Gentibus Indiæ et Bragmanibus; and two other writers edited in the same volume by Ed. Bisse, 4to. Lond. 1665. Strabo: Geog. x. p. 712. Origen; Contra Celsum, p. 19. Edit. Spencer. Cantab. 1658. Jerome in his Second Book, Adversus Jovinianum, refers to this matter: "Bardesanes, vir Babylonius, in duo dogmata apud Indos gymnosophistas dividit, quorum alterum appellat Brachmanas, alterum

Samanæos, qui tantæ continentiæ sunt, ut vel pomis arborum juxta Gangen fluvium, vel publico orizæ, vel farinæ alantur cibo, et cum rex ad eos venerit, adorare illos solitus sit, pacemque suæ provinciæ in illorum precibus arbitrari sitam." Edit. Erasmi, tom. ii. p. 55. There is no mention of the name Samanæi, either in the original Syriac, or by Eusebius, Cæsarius, or Ruffinus in his version of the Recognitions. They are named, however, by Porphyry, referring to Bardesan, De abstinentia, lib. 4. § 17. Ἰνδων γὰρ της πολιτείας είς πολλά νενεμεμένης, έστί τι γένος παρ' άυτοῖς τὸ των θεοσόφων ους Γυμνοσοφιστάς καλείν είωθασιν Ελληνες. τούτων δε δύω αίρεσεις, ων της μεν Βραχμάνες προϊστανται, της δε Σαμαναίοι άλλ' οι μεν Βραχμάνες έκ γένους διαδέχονται, ως περ ιερατείαν, την τοιαύτην θεοσοφίαν. Σαμαναίοι δε λογάδες είσιν, κάκ των βουληθέντων θεοσοφείν συμπληρούμενοι. έχει δὲ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὡς Βαρδησάνης, ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν γεγονως, καὶ έντυχων τοῖς περὶ Δαμάδαμιν πεμπομένοις Ινδοῖς πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Origen also speaks of the Samanæi in conjunction with the Brahmins, των παρ' Ἰνδοις φιλοσοφούντων Βραχμάνες, ή Σαμαναίοι: Contra Celsum, lib. 1, p. 19. Clemens Alexandrinus too mentions them. Hpoéστησαν δὲ αὐτης Αἰγυπτίων τε οἱ Προφηται, καὶ ᾿Ασσυρίων οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατάν οι Δρυίδαι, καὶ Σαμαναίοι Βάκτρων.— Ίνδων τε οι Γυμνοσοφισταί. άλλοι τὲ φιλόσοφοι βάρβαροι. διττὸν δὲ τούτων τὸ γένος, οἱ μὲν Σαρμάναι, αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ Βραχμάνοι καλούμενοι. Stromat. lib. 1, p. 359. Edit. Potter.

priest, that a man cannot become a priest and a Magus until he shall have had connexion with his mother, and with his daughter, and with his sister; and he made Idashir priest in this manner."

- P. 19, L. 1. Called Magi. Eusebius has Μαγουσαΐοι, and so the Recognitions 'Magusæi,' and Epiphanius, Panarium adv. Hæres. p. 1094.
- P. 20, L. 1. Epiphanius makes a blunder, and attributes what is said here of the Geli to the Seres. See *Panar. adv. Hæres.* p. 1091.
- L. 12. Lascivious. The Syriac is losso, which I have not found in any Lexicon. Both Eusebius and Cæsarius have σπατάλους. Ruffinus seems to have read the preceding word ἄνανδρους in rendering 'effeminatos.'
- P. 21, L. 1. Bactrians which are called Cashani. Eusebius has Βάκτροις only; Cæsarius Σούσοις τῆς Βαβυλῶνος; and Ruffinus "in Susis." I have written Cashani, but am ignorant of the true way of enunciating land. We may compare and defended See Abulfeda . See Abulfeda . See Abulfeda . See Abulfeda . Strabo has, Geog. xv. p. 728, Λέγονται δὲ καὶ Κίσσιοι οἱ Σούσιοι. There are two countries, ἡ Κίσσια and οἱ Κόσσαι, bordering on Susiana, the latter on the side of Assyria, the former towards the Elymites. See Ptolemy, Geogr. vi. 3.
- 1.7. With their slaves. These characteristics of the Bactrian women are attributed to the Liburni by Scylax, Periplus, edit. Vossius, Amstel. 1639, p. 7. The same things are also said of the women of the Geli. See above, p. 19.
- L. 15. The Racami, and of the Edesseans and the Arabians. Eusebius has only ἐν δὲ τῆ ᾿Αραβία καὶ τῆ μοροηνῆ. The whole is omitted by Cæsarius and the Recognitions. In the Peshito, Jud. vi. 3, we find אם בּגב פֿי פֿי סיי בּגב וֹם for the Arabians. There is a town of Syria called Racim near Balca, all the houses of which are hewn out of the rock, as if they were one stone. الرقيم وهو بليدة صغيرة بقرب البلقاء وبيوتها كلها صنحوتة من صخر كانها حجر واحد See Abulfeda, loc. cit. p. rrv.
- P. 22, L. 1. Hatra. At p. 20 this is written it was the town the seige of which Trajan was compelled to raise shortly before his death. See Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, vol. ii. p. 209.
- ב. 2. Eusebius has ὀβολοῦ ἀξιον, as if he had read ביב ביב ביב ביב .
- L.10. Laws of \* \* \* The rest has been purposely erased. Eusebius, however, gives  $\Pi \alpha \rho$  'Elland, which is also omitted by Cæsarius and the Recognitions.
- L. 15. Laws of the Orientals. The context seems to shew that this is an error of the transcriber. Eusebius has Παρὰ δὲ Γάλλοις, and the Recog-

nitions 'apud Gallos,' which agrees here with the sequel better than the Syriac.

- L. 11. And dancers 1:250. M. Renan has transcribed erroneously 1:050, and omitted to translate it.
- I. 12. Tayites \. The name of a race of Arabs, and often used for Arabs generally. Eusebius, probably not understanding the word, has Taïvoîs. Cæsarius, who also does not appear to have understood it, has 'Haeious; and the author of the Recognitions, or Ruffinus the translator, has avoided the difficulty by omitting it altogether. M. Renan has printed \. \text{lads} to agree with the Greek of Eusebius, but has translated 'le pays des Tay.'
- L. 14. Nomades. The Syriac has Φο; Σοι, evidently an error of the scribe for Φοι, and Νομάσι of Eusebius.
- L. 15. Hispania. Eusebius and Cæsarius both have ἐν τῆ Σκυθία, and the Recognitions 'Scythas.'
- The Zazi, and in Brusa, which is beyond the Duro. P. 25, L. 3. Eusebius has 'Ωτανη καὶ Σαυνία καὶ ἐν Χρυση ; the Recognitions 'in Chrysea insula' only; and Cæsarius omits the passage altogether. Epiphanius, who evidently had this treatise of Bardesan before him, has  $\mathring{\eta} \Gamma \epsilon \rho \mu \alpha \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$ χώρα, ή Σαρματία, ή όπόσοι έν τοις Δαύνισιν, ή παρά Ζιχοις, p. 1091. It is plain that the text of Bardesan was not clearly understood by the translators, and, as is often the case in obscure passages, it has suffered further corruption in the transcription. This may be the reason why it is omitted by Cæsarius. I find it not an unusual thing for translators to omit what they do not understand, and to take no notice of it whatever. We may trace the connexion of Hispania, or Spania, with Σαυνία and Δαύνισιν, and of Zazi with Zιχοίς. The difference between Brusa and Χρυση must have arisen from the similarity between ב and הרוסא and ברוסא. As it is difficult to pronounce with any degree of certainty what are the precise places meant by Bardesan; I have not thought it expedient to waste my own and the readers' time by offering uncertain conjectures.
  - P. 28, L. 10. Decani. The twelve signs of the zodiac were each divided

into three parts, making thirty-six, which, being again each subdivided into ten portions, were called Decani. "Singula signa in tres partes dividuntur: singulæ autem partes singulos habent decanos ut sint in singulis signis terni decani." See Julius Firmicus, Ad Mavort. Loll. Astron. p. 17. Manilius, Astronomicon, B. 4. L. 298, gives the following account of them:

"Quapropter Grajæ dixere Decania gentes?

A numero nomen positum est, quod partibus astra
Condita tricenis triplici sub sorte feruntur,
Et tribuunt denas in se coeuntibus astris,
Inque vicem ternis habitantur singula signis."

- P. 29, L. 17. Of their establishing (Φ΄ Σ΄ Σ΄: Eusebius has τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν, as if he had read (Φ΄ Σ΄: as it is found three lines below, abrogated all their ancient laws, where, however, he has τοὺς τῶν βαρβαρων νομόνς ἤλλαξαν.
- P. 31, L. 14. Tharatha. This is the same as the goddess Rhea. Justin Martyr mentions this practice καὶ φανερῶς εἰς κιναιδίαν ἀποκόπτονταί τινες καὶ εἰς μητέρα θεῶν τὰ μυστήρια ἀνάφερουσι, Apol. 1. c. 27, edit. Otto, p. 72. Itane propterea Galli abscissi huic Magnæ Deæ serviunt, ut signifiant, qui semine indigeant, terram sequi oportere? See Augustin, De Civit. Dei, b. 7, c. 24. See also Epiphanius, Panar. p. 1092. Abgar was a general title borne by the Kings or Toparchs of Edessa. See Assemani, Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 261. Bayer thinks the king especially alluded to here was Abgar, son of Maanes, who began to reign about A.D. 200. Historia Osrhoena et Edessena ex numis illustrata, p. 169; but this does not accord with the accounts given by other writers. It seems much more probable that this was Abgar, the son of Maanes, who began his reign A.D. 152. See Hahn. Bardesan. Gnost. p. 14.
- P. 32, 1.. 9. On the appointed days. The Syriac is here is, and Eusebius gives no aid, for he has omitted this passage, and the Greek also otherwise varies considerably from the original to the end of the treatise. Compare what Bardesan says here relative to the change effected by Christianity, with Eusebius, Prap. Evang. lib. 4, and Theodoret, Grac. Affec. Curat. edit. Gaisford, p. 349.
- P. 40, L. 16. 150 circuits of Mercury 60 years. This will not agree with the calculation a few lines below, 12 thousand circuits of Mercury 6 thousand years. There is therefore an error in the manuscript in the first instance reading 150 for 120, or in the latter 12 for 15.

#### ON MELITON.

- P. 41. Who was in the presence. M. Renan translates "qui factus est coram," referring to "sermo" before. The writer in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," 1855, who signs his initials B. H. C., whom I shall henceforth designate by these letters, has "before Antoninus Cæsar," omitting altogether to translate logic. It does not, however, seem probable that the oration was made in the Emperor's presence, because the author speaks of writing it. "But touching Nebo, which is in Mabug, why should I write to you." See p. 44, L. 34 above. Meliton appears to have seen and conversed with the Emperor, and afterwards to have written this oration. An active verb relating to the author, logically, B.H.C. has made passive, and referred it to the Oration, "and it was addressed."
- L. 1. It is not an easy matter, &c. There is a sentence so exactly like this in Justin Martyr, that it would almost seem as if the one were copied from the other. ᾿Αλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ γνωρίζομεν οὐ ρ̂ᾶον ἀγνοία κατεχομένην ψυχὴν συντόμως μεταβάλλειν. Αpol. i. 12, p. 32, edit. Otto.
- an active verb passive, here makes a passive verb active, and translates "apprehends him." As there are so many grammatical blunders committed by this translator, it would be a waste of time to mention them all. I shall therefore only notice some of the other errors that he has fallen into, which may mislead such as would depend upon his translation, as exhibiting the real meaning of the Syriac.
- L.9. Like passion and sleep, مراه المعال , M. Renan has translated "morbo vel dementiæ." معال , indeed, signifies madness as well as sleep; but the words immediately following shew that the latter is meant here.
- L. 10. Using the word as a stimulus, and smiting such as are asleep also awaketh them. M. Renan has wrongly translated "Veritas vero utitur verbo sicut clavi (ad liberandum eos.) Ipsa vivificat eos qui dormiebant," mistaking the meaning of the word \( \) and supposing \( \) to be from the root \( \) instead of \( \).
- u. 15. And so then they suppose that this is righteousness. B.H.C. wrongly "inasmuch as they think thus—that this is righteousness." M. Renan, surely by an oversight, has translated 'et existimant justitiam salvam esse.'
- L. 18. A good excuse that a man be in error with the many. Justin Martyr writes, παραιτουμένους δόξαις παλαιῶν έξακολουθεῖν, which, how-

ever, is cited by Johannes Damascenus with the reading of  $\pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$  as here instead of  $\pi a \lambda a \iota \hat{\omega} \nu$ : Apol. i. 2, p. 4, edit. Otto.

- L. 27. While all things are changed. This is omitted by B.H.C.

- L. 17. That so long as a man not having heard, neither discerneth nor understands, احمد المعند المع
  - 1.25. That a voice has been heard in all the earth. Rom. x. 18.
- L. 31. Light without envy is given to all of us, that we may see thereby; and if, when light has arisen upon us, any one closeth his eyes that he may not see, his course is to the ditch. B.H.C. gives the following extraordinary translation: "Behold, light has arisen unto us! Man shuts his eyes that he may not see the pit to which he is journeying." M. Renan has wrongly translated " " quæ not fascinat." To the ditch, alluding to our Lord's words, Matt. xv. 14, who himself probably had reference to some proverb current amongst the Jews. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Test. Reuben, c. 2, we have the following similar passage: ὅτι ἀγνοίας πεπλήρωται, καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν νεώτερον ὁδηγεῖ ὡς τυφλὸν ἐπὶ βόθρον. See Grabe Spicilegium, vol. i. p. 147.
- P. 43, L. 10. That also the Sybil has said respecting them. B.H.C. has rendered this in a marvellous manner—"Now I say that rejection is denounced against those." Not knowing that has meant Sybil, he has invented a word, and translated it "rejection," apparently deriving it from the root have been derived. But had that been the case, in its present form as an abstract

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noun, it would be in the masculine gender: this translator, however, has had no difficulty in making it agree with a verb in the feminine, nor, again, in turning an active verb into a passive to suit his convenience. M. Renan, also, apparently ignorant of the meaning of passive, has omitted it altogether in his translation, and rendered the passage "quod jam dixi." See note above p. 77. Every one conversant with the early Christian writers Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Lactantius, &c., is aware that they often refer to the prophecies of the Sibyls. The passage to which Meliton seems especially to allude here is the following: See Sibyllina Oracula, edit. Gale, p. 467:

'Ημεῖς δ' ἀθανάτοιο τρίβου πεπλανημένοι ημεν 'Εργά τε χειροποίητα σεβάσμεθα ἄφρονι θυμῷ Εἰδώλων ξοάνων τε καταφθιμένων ἀνθρώπων.

This is also quoted, with two slight variations in the first verse, in the Cohortatio ad Gentiles, attributed to Justin Martyr. See edit. Oehler, p. 62.

Again, ᾿Αθάνατον γενετηρα θεῶν, πάντων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων Οὖκ ἔθελες τιμᾶν, θνητῶν ἔιδωλα δ᾽ ἐτίμας.

See Gale, ibid. p. 385. Read G. J. Vossius, De Theolog. Gentil., lib. 1, c. 11—13.

L. 13. More than the former gods. Tertullian writes to the same effect." Immo jam per deos dejerandi periculum evanuit, potiore habita religione per Cæsarem dejerandi, quod et ipsum ad offuscationem pertinet deorum vestrorum; facilius enim per Cæsarem pejerantes punirentur quam per ullum Jovem: Ad Nationes, lib. i, c. 10, p. 328, edit. Oehler. And again in his Apology, c. 28, p. 228: Ventum est igitur ad secundum titulum læsæ augustioris majestatis, siquidem majore formidine et callidiore timiditate Cæsarem observatis quam ipsum de Olympo Jovem. Et merito, si sciatis: Quis enim ex viventibus quilibet non mortuo potior?—Citius denique apud vos per omnes deos quam per unum genium Cæsaris pejeratur. Justin Martyr writes: Καὶ τί γὰρ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοκράτορας, οὖς ἀεὶ άπαθανατίζεσθαι άξιοθντες καὶ όμνύντα τινὰ προάγατε έωρακέναι έκ της πυράς άνερχόμενον είς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν κατακαέντα Καίσαρα: Apol. 1, c. 21, p. 56. Tertullian also expresses the same opinion as Melito respecting the origin of the heathen gods: Recogitemus omnem idolatrian in homines esse culturam, cum ipsos deos nationum homines retro fuisse etiam apud suos constet: De Idolatria, c. 15, p. 93. Respecting the divine honours paid to Julius Cæsar, see Suetonus, Jul. Cæs. c. 76: Valerius Maximus, lib. i. c. 6. Touching divine honours paid by the Emperor Hadrian to the § 13.

wretch Antoninus, see Justin Martyr, Apol. i. c. 29, p. 76; Eusebius, Præpar. Evan. b. ii. c. 6; Hist. Eccl. iv. 8; and Valesius' notes ad locum; and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, vol. ii. p. 267.

- L. 16. And diminish the revenue of Cæsar, B.H.C. renders "and fail to accomplish the decrees of Cæsar." M. Renan translates no better, "et decretis Cæsaris non obtemperant." The error of both has arisen from confounding (aama, the Latin "fiscum," with the Syriac laama. Compare what Meliton says here with Tertullian, Apol. c. 13, and Ad Nationes, lib. i. c. 10.
- they go in and worship." He has evidently mistaken , and read as if it were , but even then his version would be erroneous. M. Renan has not been much more felicitous in his rendering of this passage.
- L. 23. Instigate the deficient in understanding to worship that which hath no perception. M. Renan, very erroneously, "impediunt et dehortantur imbecilles corde ne adorent ea quæ sensibus non capiuntur.' Compare , "which hath no perception," with the expression, λίθων οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων, in the passage from Meliton's Apology, cited by the author of the Chronicon Paschale, edit. Dindorf, p. 483: Routh. Reliq. Sacra. vol. i. p. 118.
- L. 30. The wives of many. See respecting the wives of Hercules, Diodorus Siculus, Biblioth. b. 4; and Eusebius, Præpar. Evang. lib. ii. c. 2.
- L. 31. Zuradi. That is, Zaradas the Persian, said to be the author of the abominable law of the Persians: see note above, p. 81. Photius speaking of the work of Theodorus on Persian Magic, writes, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ προτίθεται τὸ μιαρὸν Περσῶν δόγμα, ὁ Ζαράδης εἰσηγήσατο: Biblioth. Cod. 81, edit. Bekker, p. 63. B.H.C. has given the name 'Urdi,' adding the following note: "Manuscript ''.'. Who is meant is not apparent, but probably he was known to the Greeks and Romans by another name." Now the manuscript certainly reads ''.'. and the blunder has arisen from his confounding 1 and 1 of his own transcript. In the manuscript written in the old character these very dissimilar letters could not be confounded.
- L. 34. Acte. B.H.C. has again erred here, and written "Ecate," adding the following note: "Manuscript [40], perhaps Thebes, which was called Hecatompolis, from its hundred gates." Acte is the same as Attica: "Sunt ergo Athenæ, ut ego accepi, prope litus maris sitæ, unde et regio adjacens ab  $\mathring{a}\kappa\tau\mathring{\eta}$ , quod litus interpretatur, Acte vel Attica, ipsique Athenienses Attici nuncupantur." See Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum: Mythog. iii. 4, p. 172:

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edit. G. H. Bode. See also Stephanus Byzant. De Urbibus, ad verbum 'Ακτή: edit. Th. de Pinedo, p. 55: Strabo, Geograph. lib. ix.: edit. Casaubon, p. 391. Augustin speaks to the same fact as Meliton: "His temporibus Dionysium, qui etiam Liber Pater dictus est et post mortem deus habitus est, vitem ferunt ostendisse in Attica terra hospite suo:" see Civitat. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 12. Compare Tertullian, "Ceterum si propterea Liber deus, quod vitem demonstravit, male cum Lucullo actum est, qui primus cerasia ex Ponto Italiæ promulgavit, quod non est propterea consecratus ut frugis novæ auctor, qui ostensor:" Apol. c. 11, p. 158.

L. 35. Joseph, a Hebrew, who is called Serapis. Meliton is not singular in this view. Tertullian, "Nam Serapis iste quidem olim Joseph dictus fuit, de genere sanctorum:" Ad Nationes ii. c. 8, p. 366. Julius Firmicus Maternus, De Errore profan. relig. c. 9: "Joseph, qui ob pudicitiam in carcerem missus, ereptus post interpretationem somnii, fuit particeps regni. Nam septem annorum collectis et servatis frugibus, alterius septennii egestatem divinæ manus providentia mitigavit. Huic post mortem Ægyptii patrio gentis instituto templa fecerunt ----. Nomen etiam, ut sanctus coleretur, ex primo auctore generis accepit. Nam quia Saræ pronepos fuerat, ex qua nonagenaria Abraham indulgentia Dei susceperat filium, Serapis dictus est græco sermone, hoc est Σαρᾶς ἄπο." Ruffinus states, b. xi. c. 22, "Quidam in honorem nostri Josephi formatum perhibent simulachrum, ob dimensionem frumenti, qua famis tempore subvenit Ægyptiis. Alii repertum in historiis Græcorum veteribus ferunt, Apin quendam patremfamilias seu regem in Ægypto Memphis positum, cum famis tempore frumenta apud Alexandriam defecissent ex proprio affatim civibus alimenta præbuisse. Quo defuncto, in honorem ejus instituerunt apud Memphis templum, in quo bos quasi indicium optimi agricolæ nutritur, habens quædam coloris insignia, qui ex nomine ejus Apis appelletur: σορον vero, id est, sepulchrum, in quo corpus ejus inerat, Alexandriam deduxerint, et soron Apis primo ex compositione Sorapin, post vero per corruptionem Serapin nominarint." See Auctores Hist. Eccl. edit. Basil. 1528, p. 256. Suidas has evidently followed Ruffinus: Σάραπις: τούτου ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία καθείλε Θεόφιλος ὁ ᾿Αρχιεπίσκοπος τὸ ξοάνον, ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Μεγάλου: τοῦτον δὲ οί μεν Διὰ έφασαν είναι οι δε τον Νείλον, διὰ το μόδιον έχειν έν τῆ κεφαλῆ, καὶ τὸν πηχον, ήγουν τὸ τοῦ ὕδατος μέτρον ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν Ἰωσηφ ἀπὸ της σοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ᾿Απιδος σύνθετον ὄνομα πεποιηκότες ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν Σόραπιν, οἱ δε μετὰ ταῦτα Σάραπιν: see ad Σάραπις.

P. 44, L. 5. Erecthippus, Malail. Evidently an error for Erethonius or Erectheus. Augustin writes, "Erechthoni regis Atheniensium, cu-

jus novissimis annis Jesus nave mortuus reperitur, Vulcanus et Minerva parentes fuisse dicuntur: see Civitat. Dei, b. 18. c. 12.

- L. 12. Balthi is the Syriac name of Venus, Tamuz of Adonis; and Cuthar is the Κινύρας of the Greeks: see Nork, Die Gotter Syriens, p. 79: Selden, De Diis Syris Synt. ii. c. 2, 3: Vossius, De Theol. Gent. b. i. c. 22, 23.
- is no such word as المعلمة. It is evidently an error of the copyist for المعلمة والمعلمة, "hunting:" written in Persian علمه B.H.C. has translated it, without noticing the difficulty, "where he was wounded by a boar;" and M. Renan altogether wanders from the meaning. "Cyniram (?) vero vertit in Aprum."
- L. 21. Respecting the temple of Venus in Apheca: ἐν ἀκρωρείας μέρει τοῦ Λιβάνου ἐν ᾿Αφακοις: see Eusebius, De Vita Constant. b. iii. c. 55; and De Laud. Constant. c. viii. edit. Zimmermann, pp. 959, 1159; Zosimus, cited by Selden, De Diis Syr. p. 278, writes, Ἦφακα χώριον ἐστι μέσον Ἡλιουπόλεώς τε καὶ Βύβλου, καθ' ὁ ναὸς ᾿Αφροδίτης ᾿Αφακίτιδος ἵδρυται. Lucian says that it was founded by Cinyras: see De Syria Dea, c. 9.
- L. 26. Athi a Hadibite. I do not know what A refers to. am I able to offer any satisfactory explanation respecting this account of The story seems to have originated in that of the little maid who was brought away captive out of the land of Israel, and waited upon Naaman's wife, and of the cure of Naaman's leprosy by Elisha. 2 Kings c. 5. Perhaps Athi may have some connection with the name "ATTHS or "ATTIS, who is said to have instituted the orgies for Rhea. See Lucian, De Syria Dea, c. 13. Vossius: ibid. c. 20. The account by Damascius of his visiting Hierapolis and sleeping there—as Photius has related it, and of the pestilential and deadly vapours which were emitted from a cavern under the temple of Apollo—taken in reference to what Meliton says respecting the unclean spirit in the sacred wood of Mabug, called also Hierapolis, and the way in which this was remedied by the daughter of Hadad, would seem to shew some connection between the stories and the names; but there is so much uncertainty in all this, that it would be needless to waste my own and the reader's time in offering conjectures. The passage alluded to in Photius is this: Λέγει δε δ συγγραφεύς ότι τότε τη Ἱεραπόλει έγκαθευδήσας έδόκουν όναρ

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ό 'Αττης γενέσθαι, καί μοι έπιτελεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν Θεῶν τὴν τῶν ἱλαρίων καλουμένων ἑορτὴν. See Bibliotheca, cod. 242, edit. Bekker, p. 345.

- and M. Renan "regem." The word [ is used in the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the Syriac version of the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the Syriac version of the Theophania of Eusebius [10; 20] [ is used in the Syriac version of the
- L. 31. Cuthbi. The manuscript reads most plainly \_\_\_\_\_\_. B.H.C. has given "Cutheb," and says that the manuscript reads \_\_\_\_\_\_.
- L. 34. Mabug, more generally known as Hierapolis. Pliny: "Bambyce, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur Syris vero Magog. Ibi prodigiosa Atargatis, Græcis autem Derceto dicta coletur:" b. v, c. 33.
- L. 36. A Thracian Magus. B.H.C., I know not why, "the Magian, an enchanter." In the next line he has turned the proper name, (i.o., "Hadran," into a verb, and then translated it "they honour.' Had it been a verb, it could only have been rendered "we honored." Eusebius also intimates some connexion between Zoroaster, or Zaradusht, and Orpheus the Thracian, in the following passage of his Præpar. Evangv. c. 4: εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος οὖτός ἐστιν, ἔιτε Θράκιος ἀπὸ 'Ορφέως. The author of the Clementine Homilies, ix. 4, says that Zoroaster was indentical with Nimrod! See also Recognitions iv. 27.
- P. 45, L. 4. The passage B.H.C. translates "the secret parts;" apparently confounding 20; with the Hebrew The The unclean spirit probably meant, the exhalation of pestilential vapours, see note above.
- L. 6. That she should draw water from the sea, and cast it into the well. B.H.C., wrongly, "that water should be drawn;" and M. Renan, not less erroneously, "ut aqua e mari allata inpleret hanc planitiem." Both have referred to the passage of Lucian De Syria Dea, c. 13, which I transcribe here: Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, λέγεται λόγος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῆ ἰρῆ πόλει, μεγάλως ἄξιος θωυμάσαι, ὅτι ἐν τῆ σφετέρη χώρη, χάσμα μέγα ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ συμπαν ὕδωρ κατεδέξατο. Δευκαλίων δὲ, ἐπεὶ τάδε ἐγένετο, βωμούς τε ἔθετο, καὶ νηὸν ἐπὶ τῷ χάσματι Ἡρης ἄγιον ἐστησατο. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ χάσμα εἶδον, καὶ ἔστι ὑπὸ τῷ νηῷ κάρτα μικρόν εἰ μὲν ὧν, πάλαι καὶ μέγα ἐὸν, νῦν τοῖονδε ἐγένετο, οὐκ οἶδα. τὸ δὲ ἐγὼ εἶδον, μικρόν ἐστι. σῆμα δὲ τῆς ἱστορίης τόδε πρήσσουσι. δὶς ἑκάστον

ἔτεος ἐκ θαλάσσης ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν νηὸν ἀπικνέεται φερουσι δὲ οὐκ ἱρέες μοῦνον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα Συρίη, καὶ ᾿Αραβίη, καὶ πέρηθεν τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρχονται, καὶ πάντες ὕδωρ φέρουσι τὸ πρῶτα μεν ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐκχέουσι, μετὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ χάσμα κατέρχεται, καὶ δέκεται τὸ χάσμα, μικρὸν ἐὸν, ὕδατος χρῆμα πολλόν τὰ δε ποιέοντες, Δευκαλίωνα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τόνδε νόμον θέσθαι λέγουσι, συμφορῆς τε καὶ εὐεργεσίας μνῆμα ἔμμεναι.

- L. 8. According to that which was a mystery in their Magism. B.H.C., erroneously, "as if there was some mystery in their enchantments."
- 1.12. But thou, a free intelligence, and cognizant of the truth, enter into thyself, and if they clothe thee in the fashion of a woman. B.H.C. translates absurdly, "Now, the understanding is free, and a knower of truth: whether it is in these things consider with thyself. And if they dress up for thee the figure of a woman." M. Renan, less faulty, but not correctly, "Tu vero, mens libera et cognitor veri si reputaris, stude ut talis sis in anima tua, etsi ornatu muliebri indueris."
- the root in the next line is as M. Renan has taken it in translating "nec commovetur." He also has mistaken in the next line is a for in the next line in the n
- L. 32. He needeth nothing, Land Land Land Land M. B.H.C. has translated this passage, "and know that he asketh nothing which is needless." And M. Renan, scarcely better, "Et scias eum nihil quærere a te de iis quæ non sunt necessaria (cognitu)."
- L. 36. But what is truth? B.H.C. has omitted this altogether, and consequently made nonsense.
- ignorant of the force of ; ", " and the reproach from this is great.' The following sentence is equally wrong; but it would be tedious to notice all this translator's numerous errors.
- L. 28. But perchance thou mayest say, Why did not God create me so that I should then have served him and not idols? Compare Bardesan, p. 1, L. 10, and p. 3, L. 19 above. B.H.C. has translated this most ab-

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surdly, "But perhaps thou wilt say, How is my work not the God whom thou worshippest, and not an image?"

- P. 48, L. 3. And of it be careful, B.H.C. translates, "and his solicitude."
- L. 19. Is that God which is bought and sold? Compare Tertullian: "Status Dei cujusque in senatus æstimatione pendebat. Deus non erat quem homo consultus noluisset et nolendo damnasset. Domesticos Deos, quos Lares dicitis, domestica potestate tractatis, pignerando, venditando, demutando aliquando in cacabulum de Saturno, aliquando in trullam de Minerva, ut quisque contritus atque contusus, dum diu colitur, ut quisque dominus sanctiorem expertus est domesticam necessitatem. Publicos æque publico jure fœdatis, quos hastario vectigales habetis. Dei vero qui magis tributarii, magis sancti, immo qui magis sancti, magis tributarii. Majestas quæstuaria efficitur. Circuit cauponas religio mendicans. Exigitis mercedem pro solo templi, pro aditu sacri. Non licet Deos gratis nosse: venales sunt: Apol. c. xiii. p. 164: see also Ad Nationes i. c. x. p. 326, where the same things are repeated almost in the same words.
- L. 26. I am not able to conduct myself well, &c. B.H.C. has sadly distorted this, and translated, "Am I not able, to govern well, because I am a king? And is it not mine to influence the will of many? He who thus speaks is truly fitted for sport. For wherefore is he a king?"
- P.49. L.13. For what advantage is greater than this. B.H.C., ignorant, as I have before observed, of the force of [1], has given the following erroneous version: "For there is this good thing which hence especially arises."
- L. 36. And art thou not ashamed perchance it should be deficient to demand of him who made it? &c. B.H.C., absurdly, "And art thou not ashamed that blood should be required of the maker of it." He has mistaken the particle perchance," for it is blood;" and then, to make the words it?

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P. 50, L. 4. Why rollest thou thyself upon the earth, and offerest supplication to things which are without perception? Fear Him who shaketh the earth. This is rendered, if possible, still more absurdly than the preceding passage by B.H.C.: "wherein thou wallowest on the earth, and yet art favoured. For things which are destitute of consciousness are afraid of him who maketh the earth tremble."

L. 35. A flood of wind. B. H. C. gives as a note, but without any authority, "The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is here alluded to." He is, however, altogether mistaken. The flood of wind relates rather to the destruction of the tower of Babel: see Josephus Antiq. b. i. c. 4. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου, καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα, λέγουσα οὕτως: "πάντων ὁμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πύργον ϣκοδόμησαν τινες ὑψηλοτάτον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ, ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες, ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἰδίαν ἑκάστω φωνὴν ἔδωκαν.

The passage in the Sibyl, to which Josephus alludes, seems to be this:

Καὶ βούλοντ' ἀναβην' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα

Αὐτίκα ἀθάνατος \* \* \*

Πνεύμασιν. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὑψόθι πύργον

'Ρίψαν, καὶ θνητοίσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὧρσαν.

See Gale Sibyll. Orac. p. 336. Abydenus, cited by Eusebius, Prap. Evang. lib. ix. c. 14: Έντὶ δ' οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ γῆς ἀνασχόντας, ρωμή τε καὶ μεγέθει χαυνωθέντας καὶ δὴ θεῶν καταφρονήσαντας ἀμέινονας εἶναι, πύργων τύρσιν ἤλίβατον ἀείρειν, ἵνα νῦν Βαβυλών ἐστιν, ἤδη τε ἀσσον εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θεοῖσι βωθέοντας ἀνατρέψαι περὶ αὐτοῖσι τὸ μηχάνημα τοῦ δῆτα ἐρείπια λέγεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα. The author of the Cave of Treasures, li ¿ ; , to which I have already referred, p. 79, gives a nother account of the Flood of Wind: to which tradition, indeed, Meliton may refer:—Λιωρο Ιρίως Αρριο Ιρίως Ιρίας Ιρίως Ιρίως Ιρίως Ιρίως Ιρίως Ιρίως Ιρίας Ιρίως Ιρίως

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idols, God opened the storehouse of his wind, and the tempest's door, and a storm of wind went forth through all the earth, and overthrew the images and the temples of the devils, and collected together the idols and the images, and the statues, and made great heaps over them until this day. And this storm of wind the doctors call the Flood of wind:" see fol. 22. The same account is also given in the Ethiopic Book of Adam, translated by Dr. A. Dillman in Ewald's Jahrbücher, 1853, p. 118: "Und im 100stem jahre des Nahor sah Gott auf die menschenkinder, welche ihre kinder den gözen opferten; und er liess die vorrathskammer der winde öffnen und liess stürme winde und nebel über die ganze oberfläche der erde kommen, bis dass alle die gözen und bilder und figuren zusammengebracht (-geweht) waren, und sehr hohe berge daraus wurden, und die gözen blieben in ihnen begraben bis auf diesen tag. Viele weisen (gelehrte) haben über jenen wind geschrieben: einige von ihnem sagen, dass es eine windfluth gewesen sei."

- P.51. L.5. The earth shall be burnt up, &c. Meliton evidently alludes here to 2 Pet. iii. 10. 12. This may probably be one reason why my friend, the Chevalier Bunsen, to whom I lent the translation of this Apology, and who at first did not doubt its authenticity, might have been led afterwards to think that it "bears the stamp of a late and confused composition;" and "for that reason to abstain from giving it a place among the genuine texts:" Hippolytus and his Age, vol. i. p. xi. 1854. Mr. Bunsen does not admit the authenticity of the Second Epistle of St. Peter. It is, however, certainly alluded to here by one of the earliest and most learned writers of the Christian Church in the second century, and consequently appears to have been admitted by him as genuine.
  - L. 12. Shall lament, (Shall be made alive." M. Renan, more consistenly with the sense, but altogether erroneously, "evanescent."
  - L. 20. This last sentence is obscure, and I am not sure that I have given the exact meaning. I believe, however, M. Renan's version, as well as that of B.H.C. to be incorrect.

The four following extracts are taken from one of the Syriac manuscripts brought from Nitria, now in the British Museum, No. 12,156, f. 70.76, 77, written A.D. 562. As I have already given a description of this manuscript in my *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 352, it is needless for me to repeat it here.

P. 52. Of Sardis. The Syriac has of Sardeon, which is the genitive of the Greek retained in the translation.

On the Soul and Body. This treatise is named by Eusebius, see below, p. 98; and by Jerome, "De Anima et Corpore:" and by Ruffinus, "De Anima et Corpore et Mente."

On the Cross. B.H.C. has translated incorrectly "on the crucifixion." This is not one of those works of Meliton mentioned by Eusebius, who, however, speaks as if he had not seen all his writings.

- L. 30. While he was esteemed a servant, he denied not the Sonship. B.H.C. renders truly absurdly, as well as erroneously, "He was declared a man by the adoption, but he did not deny."
- P. 58. Melito the Bishop, without any other designation. On the Faith. Jerome has "De fide librum unum;" but in the printed editions of Eusebius we have only  $\delta$   $\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\delta$   $\delta$   $\pi$   $\delta$   $\delta$   $\delta$   $\delta$   $\delta$   $\delta$   $\delta$  Respecting this, see note below, p. 98.
- Word of God. B.H.C. "that we may shew to your condemnation that the word of God is perfect wisdom." The very tyro in Syriac surely knows that look means "love," from the root . This translator, however, has apparently looked for it under . and then rendered it as if it had been 120000.
- L. 19. Who in the law was the law, among the priests Chief priest, among kings Governor. For this B.H.C. gives "who is a law among the priests, in counsel a leader."
- L. 21. In the Voice the Word. This confirms the reading of the Syriac in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, c. ii. μο Δ΄ μ΄ | Ιοσ Δοζ, and of the old Latin, "rursus factus sum vox," against the Greek πάλιν ἔσομαι τρέχων: see my note on this passage, Corpus Ignatianum, p. 291.
- P. 54. L. 12. Of Meliton, Bishop of the city of Attica. This and the following extract were not printed at the same time as the others, because I did not believe them to be by the Bishop of Sardis, which inscription the two first bore. It is plain, however, that this is from the same work as that cited by Anastasius from the tract called  $\Lambda \acute{o}\gamma os$   $\epsilon \acute{i}s$   $\tau \acute{o}$   $\pi \acute{a}\theta os$ , because it contains the passage quoted: O  $\Theta \epsilon \acute{o}s$   $\pi \acute{e}\pi o\nu \theta \epsilon \nu$   $\mathring{v}\pi \acute{o}$   $\mathring{o}\epsilon \acute{\xi} \acute{\iota}as$   $\mathring{o}\sigma \alpha \eta \mathring{v} \iota \iota \mathring{o}s$ : see Routh, Reliq. Sacr. vol. i. p. 122. I have therefore printed it subsequently at p. 49. No one who compares this with the preceding can fail, I think, to draw the conclusion that they are by the same hand, although perhaps by a different one from that of the Apologies. Neither is there any work

attributed by Eusebius to Meliton which has the title Είς τὸ πάθος ——. seems probable that there has arisen some confusion in the transcribers between the names Meliton and Meletius. B.H.C. assumes at once that this is the case. That Meletius of Sebaste in Armenia, and afterwards of Antioch, is the person meant, and consequently he has not hesitated to declare that the name of the city is mis-spelt, and Antioch clearly intended; and therefore has made no difficulty in giving Antioch instead of Attica. a Syrian writer should have made any blunder in spelling the name of their great city Antioch is as improbable as that an educated Englishman should mis-spell London. There is a considerable difference between the words and and lad. Besides this Meletius was translated to Antioch contrary to the canons of the Church, and was therefore soon expelled, and driven into exile. He would therefore hardly have been generally styled Bishop of Antioch, although indeed he afterwards returned, and was again expelled, and again returned. "Apud Antiochiam sane diversis temporibus multa et admodum confuse gesta sunt. Mam defuncto Eudoxio, cum multi diversarum urbium episcopi ad illam sedem summa ambitione niterentur, ad ultimum Meletium de Sebastia, Armeniæ civitate, contra decreta concilii illuc transferunt. Qui tamen ab ipsis rursum in exilium traditur:" see Ruffinus, Hist. Ecc. b. x. c. 24. The word Attica is unquestionably right, and the error must have arisen from some copyist adding the word city to  $\tau \hat{\eta}_s$  'A $\tau \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\eta}_s$ . There was a Meletius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, in Pontus, who was present at the Council of Nice, and well known to Athanasius, and to Eusebius, who, on account of his great learning and powers of oratory, was called The honey of Attica, Το μέλι της Αττικής: see Eusebius, b. vii. c. 32; and Valesius' notes. He could hardly be the same as Meletius, who was made Bishop of Antioch in the year 360, thirty-five years after the Council, although the similarity of their own names and that of their sees, the one being Bishop. of Sebastopolis in Pontus, and the other of Sebaste in Armenia, might cause some confusion. The latter, according to Socrates, was translated from Sebaste, first to Berea, and then to Antioch: see Hist. Eccl. b. ii. c. 44; and Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. b. iv. c. xxviii. Both Meliton and Meletius were celebrated for their eloquence.

- L. 18. Was taken from the flock. B.H.C., erroneously, "was seized by the shearer."
- L. 24. In the midst of Jerusalem. By whom? By Israel. B.H.C. "in the midst of Jerusalem by those who are of Israel."
  - L. 28. Thou wast reclining on a soft bed, B.H.C. translates in an

absurd manner, "Thou didst lie down against rectitude of mind!!" and then explains it thus, "i.e. crouch like a wild beast to seize its prey," or, it may be simply "with a guilty conscience."

- L. 30. Why hast thou done this fresh wickedness? B.H.C. "Wherefore this iniquity? It is a new crime."
- P. 55, L. 34. The heaven and the earth. B.H.C. "the sun and the earth," mistaking \( \) for \( \) \( \) \( \) \( \).
- P. 56, L. 5. Meliton, Bishop of Ittica. This is the same as the preceding, although written [22]: B.H.C., in support of his assertion above, has not hesitated to turn Meliton into Melitus; and Itica, or Ittica, into Antioch.

This last extract is taken from a volume procured in Egypt in 1843 by Dr. Tattam, with several leaves added in 1847 from the fragments obtained by M. Pacho. It appears to have been written about the seventh or eighth century, is imperfect both at the beginning and the end, and in its present state consists of 186 leaves written in two columns. It contains numerous extracts from the Fathers of the Church, cited in opposition to various heresies. What the title of the work is, or who is its author, does not appear. Cod. Add. 14,533 (not 14,532 as B.H.C. states).

History of the Church. This chapter of the fourth book of Eusebius is taken from the antient Syriac version, of which I have inserted an account in the Corpus Ignatianum, p. 350, which see. I have given the entire chapter as it stands. It comprises the 24, 25, 26, and 27th of the Greek editions. It may be considered a fair specimen of the Syriac version, which future editors of Eusebius should not neglect to consult.

- P. 57, L. 5. Bishop of Corinth, omitted in the Greek. Ruffinus omits here also all mention of Dionysius.
- 1. 18. On the Faith of Man. So Ruffinus, De fide hominis; and also several Greek manuscripts. The editions have περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου.
- L. 20. On the hearing of the ear of faith. Gr. Ὁ περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως καὶ ὁ περὶ αἰσθητηρίων. Ruffinus, De obedientia fide. De sensibus.
- L. 22. On the faith; with several manuscripts. Ruffinus, De fide. Some editions have κτίσεως. See Dr. Routh's note on this place, vol. i. p. 139.
- L. 23. And again on the Soul and on the Body. With several Greek manuscripts, and Ruffinus, Item de anima et corpore.
- 1.24. The Greek editions add καὶ ἡ κλείς; and Ruffinus, Item liber qui dicitur Clavis.

- L. 25. On God who put on the body. Gr. Ὁ περὶ ἐνσωμάτον Θεοῦ. Ruffinus, De Deo corpore induto. See Dr. Routh's note, p. 143.
  - L. 29. Agaris, an error for Σάγαρις. See b. v. c. 24.
- L. 36. By him,  $\sigma_1 > 0$ , as if he had read  $d\pi' a d\tau o \hat{v}$  instead of  $d\pi'$ : a common occurrence. Ruffinus has "illis temporibus."
- P. 59, L. 3. Fundius, and below, Pharisæans: doubtless errors of the scribe.

#### AMBROSE.

- P.61. M. Renan has inserted a few lines from this in the Journal Asiatique. The text is correctly printed, with the exception of 120005 for 10000; but he has erred greatly in the translation. The first sentence he renders thus: "N'avez-vous point pensé, hommes de la Grèce, qu'il était contra la loi et la justice de me chasser du milieu de vous?" and the last sentence still more wrongly, "Après l'avoir étudiée, j'ai reconnu tout ce qu'il y a en cette doctrine de nouveau et d'étrange, et quelle confience elle donne à ceux qui la professent pour enseigner la vérite."
- P. 61, L. 11. Wars of the two trials. I suppose the author means, of the gods as well as the men engaged in it; to which also reference is made in the Cohortatio ad Gentiles, c. ii. edit. Otto, p. 24; and the passage of Homer, Il. xx. v. 66—72 cited, beginning,

Τόσσος ἄρα κτύπος ὧρτο θεων ἔριδι ξυνιόντων:

Compare Tertullian, Ad Nationes i. c. 10, p. 329.

L. 12. For the sake of Helen, &c. Homer, Il. ii. v. 177.

'Αγγείην Έλένην, ης είνεκα πολλοὶ 'Αχαιων 'Εν Τροίη ἀπόλοντο, φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης.

L. 16. A leprous shepherd. The Syriac proves the antiquity of the Greek reading  $\lambda \epsilon \pi \rho o \hat{v}$ , which has been suspected by critics. See Otto's notes.

P. 62, L. 20. Amazon. The Syriac has 120, the being omitted.

- P. 63. Compare what is said here relative to the Gods with Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i, c. 21. See also Augustin, *De Civitate Dei* ii, c. 7, 8; and Joh. Ludov. Vives' notes to these chapters: edit. Fancof. 1661.
- L. 13. Father of Gods and men. The common expression of Homer  $\pi a \tau \hat{\eta} \rho \ \hat{a} \nu \delta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \ \tau \epsilon \ \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu \ \tau \epsilon$ , which Ennius among the Latins translated "patrum divûmque hominunque." See Cicero, De Nat. Deor. p. 104.
- L. 15. Concerning his adultery. Compare the passage of Homer, Il. xiv. 315—327, in which Jupiter recounts his amours to Juno: cited also in the Cohortatio ad Gent. c. 2. p. 22.
  - P. 64, L. 6. Of how many censures is the Lord of the gods guilty, &c.

Compare Tertullian, Apol. c. 11, vol. i. p. 159: "Illuc (in Tartarum scilicet) enim abstrudi solent, impii quique in parentes et incesti in sorores, et maritarum adulteri, et virginum raptores, et puerorum contaminatores, et qui sæviunt, et qui occidunt, et qui furantur, et qui decipiunt, et quicumque similes sunt alicujus dei vestri, quem neminem integrum a crimine aut vitio probare poteritis, nisi hominem negaveritis. Atquin ut illos homines fuisse non possitis negare, etiam istæ notæ accedunt quæ nec deos postea factos credi permittunt. Si enim vos talibus puniendis præsidetis, si commercium, colloquium, convictum malorum et turpium probi quique respuitis, horum autem pares deus ille majestatis suæ consortio adscivit, quid ergo damnatis, quorum collegas adoratis? Suggillatio est in cœlo vestra justitia. Deos facite criminosissimos quosque, ut placeatis deis vestris."

P. 65, L. 3. Wept over Sarpedon. He alludes to the following lines of Homer, Il. xvi. 433, which Athenagoras also quotes, Legat. c. 21

"Ω μοι έγων, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρων Μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο δαμῆναι!

This is also quoted in the Cohort. ad Gent. c. 2. p. 20.

- L. 7. Carried off. The text is , which seems to be a blunder for
- 1.22. Penelope. The manuscript has 12022, evidently an error for 120212.
- error. There is no such root in the Lexicons. Perhaps was intended.
  - P. 66, c. 6. Rhea. The text has Lioi, evidently an error for Loi.
- L. 22. Is guilty of adultery, and is without punishment. The Greek is  $\mathring{a}$ κολ $\mathring{a}$ στως ξ $\mathring{\omega}$ σαν: see p. 68, L. 25. The translator did not understand the word  $\mathring{a}$ κολ $\mathring{a}$ στως.
- P. 67. L. 14. Are brave, Σ. The translator must either have read ἀνδρεῖοι instead of ἄνανδροι, or the Syriac copyist have mistaken τος for ...
- L. 15. Horsemen and their beauty. The Greek has τύπων εὐμορφίαν. The Syriac translator probably read iππέων for τύπων.
- P. 69, L. 7. And make the dead pass over that he die not, [Assign Lead 1]. Although the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good, there appears to be an error of the copyist in writing in the sense is good.

#### MARA, SON OF SERAPION.

- Wrecked together with the birth of life, 1, 2000 you P. 70, L. 11. -10370 Junis. These words are obscure. I suppose they refer to the new birth of a Christian rendering the precepts of Greek philosophy superfluous. Compare what Ambrose says, p. 61 above. There are several very obscure passages in this letter. Although I have endeavoured to give the meaning of them as accurately as I could, I cannot confidently assert that I have in no instances failed. M. Renan has given a short extract from this letter in the Journal Asiatique; and has left off in the middle of a sentence omitting the words which I have just mentioned, and consequently destroying the sense of the passage. He has made several mistakes in the texts—|>;- for A>;-, and for lai, and lies for Lies, and lake for Ash. In the translation he has omitted the name Mara, and written only "Bar Sérapion." The last sentence he has rendered altogether wrongly. "C'est pourquoi je l'adresse ce livre comme un mémorial de toutes mes recherches; il a été pour moi l'univers, est c'est lui qui m'a introduit dans la science; car, tout ce que je sais, je l'ai appris de la Grèce."
- P. 71, L. 36. Imprisoned. The original work means also, a recluse, a monk practising a certain mode of asceticism, concerning which see Assemani Disser. de Syris Monophysitis. This would well agree with the meaning here; but at P. 75, L. 32, the writer speaks as if he were actually in prison or bondage at the time.
- P. 73, L. 33. Or the people of Samos. See respecting the burning of Pythagoras, Diogenes Laertius, De vitis et dogm. Philosoph. lib. viii. seg. 39, with Menagius' Notes; and Stanley's History of Philosophy, second edit. p. 506. The Sibylline Oracles were said to have foretold the destruction of Samos. Έσται καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος, ἐσεῖται δὲ Δῆλος ἄδηλος. See Sybil. Orac. p. 405, and Gale's Notes illustrating this matter.
- P. 74, L. 6. Statue of Juno: This was the statue which the Romans creeted in honour of Pythagoras, when they were commanded by the Oracle of Delphi to erect statues to the bravest and the wisest of the Greeks.
- L. 23. His neighbour: this is evidently an error of the copyist for of the would easily be made in the square character for the similarity of 7 and 7.
- P. 75, L. 4. The majesty of the belly: Compare Tertullian. "Deus enim tibi venter est, et pulmo templum, et aqualiculus altare, et sacerdos

cocus, et sanctus spiritus nidor, et condimenta charismata et ructus prophetia. De Jejunio, c. xvi. vol. i. p. 877.

P. 76: L. 23. Mara. M. Renan here also has omitted this name, and in the following line misunderstood it, and translated it, "Seigneur." In the next line he has omitted it again, and translated the reply altogether wrongly, "Je ris du temps, qui se venge de moi, quand je ne lui ai fait aucun mal."

### Additional Note to page 40.

The extract given here is cited from Add. MS. in the British Museum, 12,154, f. 248, b, respecting which see my Corpus Ignatianum, p. 359. The passage is quoted from a writer known as the Persian Philosopher, whose real name was Jacob: see subscription to Add. MS. 17,182, transcribed A.G. 785, or A.D. 473. There is another copy of this work of nearly as early date, Add. MS. 14,619. The author wrote the last of his treatises in the year of Alexander, 656, or A.D. 342. These treatises, both from their antiquity and the matter contained in them, are very important; but as I am preparing them for publication, I abstain at present from any further observations.

### ERRATA.

In the Syriac Text.

Page 5, L. 17,	for	ومعمد	read	بعدما
,, 7, г. 1,	"	المعمد ١٨١٥	"	imachi
,, 12, г. 24,	"	0150007	"	220022
,, 27, г. 24,	,,	-	77 ~	-viva
,, 29, г. 16,	,,	Via	"	944
,, 45, l. 1,	,,	1207720	"	002220
" г. 27,	,,	وأمدأ	"	وأحدا
	Tan	the Translat	ຳດາ	
., 41, т., 1,				Meliton.

which are subject.

" 43, L. 7, " which subject "

على . معكوا باعسناه الدهم معمدا المسنك ال كدول سبكا بما المها المهاد برا منها معبال معبال معبال معبال معبال معبال معبال معبال المها المهاد برا بها بعب بلا بعب بلا بعبال بدهما الموجود والمعدد المعبال بالمعبال معبال بالمعبال با

## ٥٥٥ [م: دم].

د عبد اندا در مسا صدر عندا ادرد درا دروسا مدرا ادراد درا دروسا عدر عندا ادراد دروسا عدر اندا دروسا عدر عندا ادراد دروسا عدر اندا دروسا مدروسات ادراد دروسات ادر

## وكاكمه احمده والمنوا عبدا.

الماده وحداد المراد المراد المراد المراد المرد وحدا المادد وحري اندا الامدن والم المدني في ومد قدم المرا مع واصع كقدم الما عج اندا عد محونا عمدمدا كنوعدا بمعدا. تودا امدهم اعزا وعدددها. مدا المدهم اعدا إلا صلا مدا المدهم بن والمدل، عد عزمع دمم عدم الم الم الم الم معمد من وعدم المناهد وكدوهم الإدنى ودعدما الادها ودكرما المودن في وحمل بودا الالادن حمد من بحريه أذكر لا احداده بن بعد حدد قدد معدا مع واصع كيدهم ازم على محود المدال مدا الماهم بن والمولى والمولى المولى حصرد من داهند مد مده مد المعزامل دل بلسهمترمه المدمر. وكية حدور وحد وكدومة من من دوه ال وكعدامه و المعرد סהס פלפבן הסן. [נל בל שבבל וכבבל פשת הסבל. סהס כפבן[ وحرك وهوعدا منة و المار سريا بعديد. در دندما شريا كعزما وعدا مهمد كعدرا بعكر كنه ويحكور كنه وحدور كنه ومعزو كنه والمعزام عزور ادلا وم لا المدادمة المعزامي. لل معز مدامة الرحمة المدا العدد المعمد حصورة. لل مون معدم العملي: بن وبدور البدع بن و والمعدم الدود بن و والمعدم جنم : بن دور مراهم مداهم مدر المدر ١٥٥٥٤ : ١٥٥ وعدامه ومدا : ١٥٥ وود عدما . عنوم وروم ودم عزمن كمدر بن وكهما. عزمن متووز بن ومتحدا كري إيزا. عزمتم هتة بمر بيالم محم واصعدا. معنوزا معانك بنم وعدودا. معنوم مدل ومكر نه وحكيد منزمن المرمد وعكب وعدا مهكد كعزير ومودا عدادم حلا مسلم. وكوسل محدد وعدود أعده والمملك وعدوه مدل مد والم داعدة معما. منمه بداعدة لحده بسبلاً. دوم معده در ذكم ادلاه، بنه نه و بعدد اذرا در معدا معدم. عنه الهادة حدم المادا. كما

٥٠٥٠١ عصدي، ودر حوا عدمي . ددعوا بع وددوران اح مدوره قدمددم. حسركم السعال. وحمد احسال لابحر وكب لموا موذل ومسل حدد كالمحدد المعاد المعاد المعاد المعاد المعاد من معاد من معادد من معادد المعاد من معادد من معادد المعادد من معادد معادد من معادد من معادد من معادد حزده عدما مدي عدد ادلا كعرب بدك اتمد هيداب خدا قلاً عتداً المادم. صدح دم اددم مدح احداً. بهمادام مددا مدما: ودامه ا مدكم مدم دده من الم دلم احدا كمي عدة ادم المكمم وهدمة ا تنوم دوردر واحد مزد حدم اهمة عدوند الحمر المعرا بسيدا محرك، معسده المع دمدمعود أن محسودي المعدم ال حصاميزا دبدن. من دسوا حلا دهما همروداً. وحد حكمم كدلا نسم ٥٥٠٠ مسمراً وحدم المحرا دود المحرا المحرال مدم المحرا منن، بحد کده هده نب کده کے. ای ده هدی کے بدے قده صحال المانی كعكد دروم وحداده إلى أمر القا دوم وكدا وقادا دهموم حرم الاذا مكما بصعب حده. دسهم بهم نحدهم در دمحمور حتب ماتم. دهم عدى كعدك ده الميا دادم مبود كي. ولا أمر ١٠٥٠١ داردا ود حداً. ول حسم من مربع بدموا. لا مربع ملم بعدا: عدے حدما دسا دراہمے کے ادام دے حزمہ احدد[ا ال وحدا دسعمالهاما كعدون ادم كرده الم المعدد المعدد المراد ومعمد المعدد الم بطرم ادلا حدة أوداً. عدم بلا عنها. صدحه عوندا حلمدهدا الملاعدة. اللهم عدم حدورا من زيا إلا أمدرا وحدر الله عدم المحدم كمه. ٥٥زكم سدمم أونسا بعد ١٨مست ادا امدم وبالا حما الاون عب احبيت حدما بحك عدا . كمزمدا من من عدولا ادا كعد حدك . واحدا عده الم مله كد ، وأي الم بع عدد المد الم المرج ، لم فكر الم كم . المحربين حدومدنه ودلما دلين وبعدوهم المحسى المحسى المحسى المحسى المحسى

حصرا در هردم مرحم مرحم سر مح تسطه در اهم حل امره. اعدم حمد الا عامد حد الا عامد حدم المراء حد الا عامد الله المراء حدم المراء الراء الله المراء حدم المراء الراء المراء حدم المراء المر

« رصع؛ له المنار دع عادمه المار م

٥٥محد١٠ الا امر منهما ٥حمه احدمك و٥٥٠ عدم دونه. حقال بم معيم. وقادا عدله وحر الم كه دون وركم كه عدده كعددا . قدهدا حدم. محدمة مدار مدار مدن مدرده در الم مدروم المار المار المارم المار ال ونعذعك دهمه وكاممي عدامي حديد وعدده اعدادي العداد رسحب، واحدة وحدا المعبر كرمن حرده المعبر مكرد الما ومعدلا مزمزي مسلم كه درميه مدر ادم. در حمومها مددا که درعدا در سر دومدز کده کهور، دوکم داودل کهور. صداز ادم مددس العدام بحدازها: معدا برده دهدس والمسند ففرمول كدعدا قربهم فالمن صمددا انم ددكعدا، وامده وب وكما في ١١ حموم ١٥٤ دهما. وإدم حسكموم. وسحم على أنبوم كسمى إلى ونقسل معلمه لا من أولم فكردا عنها الم كممى الم حمددا حدودة ودا بحد بدك معدامة حدميم بهونوا كم كرديا معدلها. الالكوم بعن حزحول حنوا معومدا بعنهمما. ادا بعر مدا عوم بابا در ددد كعدم كر و معدم الم وهم و ابا دددوا دسموا عدم حدد احد ادا مع مرا ادا ودر عدرمه سدا حديدا. كحد الحسم كرد. ولمحال حزا مع درال حداد ومدار ومدار دقما معددورد. اهنوم محدما مدر دنده ا نسمعدا بدتم ادما. وحدد بعد قد ١٥٥٨م عبر لا مد مدرا. واروز عدر وحدا أميا بعبر لا عده دا. وزوه رمن ٥٥٥نم كمه كي. الا أي نخب زد كمده ويه دنه١١: ٥كمده، حقداً. وحداد على اتب احتا صوددي دمكي بين فلا كعدن. ولا داركم بقدم مبودا معدا لحدا. أيدا دومر كسدعدا: عدملا وحمكمم كذه وهمعكم ولل معل معلى المعكم ومعده ومعد ومعد معدد بوم رمن عموا كر ادا واعدا ، وكوم الحدم الكوعنير ، وكم حددا دموا کر دودسودسدده از دوروسد دوره از دور دور کرو در دوره كقلامه بشكما حتديماً. محدا رامة في مدكره، بدهدا مدهم

صدار بهم اسم مرك كعاصن و حمامنا عددنم شدمعا عب اتبعہ کنودا. وعدمد احدا محدمدور من عداد ک وزاد وعد المركوم ديميزه وال عدم دزميل عدر إيم الامده الاتما دمهكم بصومنها بعودد معدا معدد المحكد المحتد معدوس حدموده بعد ورسيا مدا حدك الانمن حسل الاحساد الم متن الم نحرحده) محمرا: نجعه مح احدا الانداع مرحوه من حانم المن حدة كم ووزيد كسدمعود بدكهمون و دودم المنا معهون وحتب صعوص بلا سكم حمطا الدهده . وتسويما حم متمحم وزيمهم حے مدردہ کی دورا این صحبہ نہے۔ لا مدم صوبہ صدری وکہی۔ ीट पं टर्का व्यक्ति रहार्य कार्शि. विद्य पं व्यव्य व्यक्ति دقده صرا شبدا بسمر. ادا بم حبب. حيد اده كقدمده احرامدا سهدها حبما صحبي. ٥٥مكم بلا المددوء حدمدا بسمي كمه، واهلا قبط صعمه كمن . ولا قادا ولا ده تمدا. ولا مدهدا ولا معسدها. الا امر ستولا حدقد مر مر مدم مدم حدكم وحددا: واحدا عدمون حدمدا مديدا كسحزه بصحال بعده كسور مع دسوما بمزار وحكسون تقدما محمة حديد. صلي بالمم داريد ا بدهمه وعدا بعدا المعالمة د الما رحم دولي. المحما محمد معام دولا كه دروعا كمددو. ولا صمه وردم صموسه الله و معمد المبدوم كرود مزوا

هما من المراحد المرحد المراحد المرحد المراحد المرحد المرحد

عن المحاعد في سحمط بدته الما على قدما ملاحك وندما المادك ويدما المادك ويدما المادك المادك المادك المادك المادك المادك المادك المادك والمادك والمادك

دسبا ادمه صدم حصر المراده امر بنمه امر المحده امر وكهوبه امر المحدود وكهوبه امر المحدود و المراده الم

ادلا بعم حزم الاعاز الحد كو عذي بال خلار الحدم المن بحده علاسمسبه. دقعا متسعدا متسعده ععدا لاحل عدم اعدا بدهم بهده بهده بعم بعم المحا عدم المدم بالمدم بالمدم المدم ال

كرح المدون أمر معكم كعدا لعدمة فيه كرمن قد مده الدم روء وقدمان ادم واحتل واحدا معدوسا منهما وعدا حوكوا وحتمدما لل ودا الله بعكم وحقدا المكمم بعصبهم كم : حي النا احمدا. احد مدمالم مكرا بحتما تسمكا. دلاتكمتهم وقده الممعده كدا كرد بكفدا روماده و معدم کے . وحدم وی مدانی و مد الانسم محدث معم حدا أتعبر والم أدام كم كعدمور كعودان. واتمم كعدرا. وكمم كعددك حمودما. فلا موا بنوه معداً. بسعيد ١١ د ١١ مدل وكوك وكوكون معمامة من دادا معمنا اسم وواد دي ودم بهم اقدمده درون درون عدامه اعده درون درونا کده درون درون درون کده درون کده درون درون کده درون درون کده درون دلا انسمور داد كسور دلا مديد إلا بعدوه ود الد بسديده قبوط معدم بكسكومما الكمر مي يدامه لاونسا كوره الكرم. ٥٥ ممر كبوك من المرب معبد وودد الم مص داج، وحروم صهد حدم حاديد. وكنوا مائيد مديم، وهي لا منور دممه، الم يمن الم صدح مدول حقدا بكوي كورين المدهر بين مودا بنيا دم سما بضمار. وبلا محمل عزدن قوم کے حقمی معرب انسی بهد وقدم امر مقا. وحدر محترم عدر ا: بحداد المال همعدم. واحد الم عدے کا دھمہ مرف ہوا ، ویکھا حمدا کا محزیات عدمد كره. أو حدما المزال الإزر كروركيه. عدر المهده المرا مخدما وحمركم الممهمه في ومع محمد الم لا الموال كر وحالا المؤ مممومه لا الإدراك. كمام من مدامكي وتدامل وقدو مكمك واحدا كعدكه. إلا تحديا المعجه. بكتسما مدعل دل الاز عدا. وحدل حباط كهذا. صيام احتق واقدمدا. والا عدم يعمر عد كر يسيدا: ودعدا اتمع ولا ميدم كرد: أمر حتمان ومعدم كرد. وهورا ونقل أمر وكسقددس فكودك كر. الإ أمر الم يودزم الاحماد. الا كمودر 

# المنجرا ذحبا حب صنحتي.

عدرا در سرومه کسرومه درم محمد در ارداد درد در در مكزدمدر: مسمدم بهدم محمل الله حمدكود حن شدم الحدقمال. لإكما دوده. واده كحمل احددا ولا مكردود دودما كذا موه. وكم ومك موزا موذك زمسا مول كب وكسر لمكما الموزا: موزا زدوك زكسوا ٥٥ إذكا لحدا مفكد : أميا بلا حيا كوك عيداً منده وكل مولم الما الم حدد کر مدا عدددا. عبر دحدم دحدعدا. حوا مده کس سن حود ا درتددا وعدم کر کد حدودا ومکر دوکمر می موكودا وه بدودول المحسل اتبى دم حور مدوكم ا بسما قدوري. المسعل عدم دنب دامكم دادق كدتم مادا. حسورا كعزد وده مدعدا كعزوف. ومودا السمد كعمارزه دعا بمنه عديه: ولموا لمعن حاقبيد حسومهما[. امر دوده مكسا: ونشع عزوما. واحم لحد مكلمهم أكر وعلمه ا: كرحدا الموزا در لحرمين لحد لحصم كر. واف حكم محدا كنورك. لادم وب حور كودول دموا كم حدم اتمومم: والعدعدة دعدس كعدله: وحرابط دعدم عيرم بفلا كبه. به فه حردما بحداً بعد موزا حوزد الم المان واحداً بلا معدم عرم امني. كعدمه حرم مازدره. حتمدم المحم وكم وكم مخزود العدمني. على إلى ويده من ورديا دعم كمك الموزمة وأمكم ودسدم علما اسموبي. حسدنا من بداده ا مد ۱۷ مراحی برده از معدی در ما من بهدودمن مدمع واركب بدوركسومدا مدرد مع حقده مه وكرعدا سمزم كعده وكراه والله وم حزب دمكم محدا محمدام الإجن أمر حندما سحمطا : بحدا حمدن بحما كعدرن مكعدا بحمكر مددا من وسيدا دهدم كين ودلاهدا والمدر كعدب دها والم سورا عنون لا سعن وز درد ا مدمور محموب واهلا وز دواده ا صحدانم. ومركم دوكمم وحقال بعداممام كر حدكما أمر بعد

بعدها ادره وقرا المعدد ادره وحمه الا حدمه المده المده المده المده المده والمده المده والمده المده والمده والمده

10x.

لا فلا واعدنا. أدلاه ومع مرحم أدلاه معاده كلههم ومعددمدم أدلاه. وزودوها به بكره من در لا مره علقكه بده داها. عدل صلا مدا ان رحم المراد ال وحم المره ولموه كحه المر محم كمة الم عدراك مر حسر احداد بعدور ادام ودامر محمد قدعا والم عنها علا دنر اعدم، بعدند عصمه كرد عده الاتا عدم بعدا. ها ادم به و اداعر کعا سفد ادا که امر ددکرددا. وکعن كما بن خل كم في الله وفكس وعدا عدد الد حادمه عدا فيهذا: ومومرا ولا معسم دورما. وكدكم عدمورد وعدد ادم كن حتوسل احس كسوكي دهن دقك وسوم احد كدمن سر بلا دسمم من اندوس على المام عوجه لا عموا. دمن الاتما كسمونهمس. وبعدا بمن كمنودس لا منحد كهكه. ولا دهلكم لانهلمه بعلى اعده. والما عنوا كمة بدم عے مکے دھے کونے احدہ اور ابرموں معرور ادم حدمار رعن كيدهدة. وكون كيدوهم كال بولها الحدهم حو الم فيه. الم المن من دعد كمرا بوله احدمت مومد بلا معسم دندا. وحمدا بمهكم حتية محصب كنه مودد المرأ. وحكسم ومحمونه كمزونس وأحلا حدومت. والأحصد وس وإمام بالهد كمكدا وداوكها حدكه في كما ببيله كموزا. دلممهزه ورحة مع معدما. ودية مع مدا وتما فندالاً. ومعدمه المعلى مدا ويحدا مقدم والمتمده اده ده محکم، مهدترمون سکتری امددا بعدمدم، بتعدون: وعددول عقدم ومن حل حقده به وانسلهم وعدده وعالمها: واعتراه الارجموس وحرا المراص المسمر والار مالي مالم حديه حن مده من من من من من المام مكر مد در مدا در مدا كمما در وزسا مهدا. واح سلان در مهد كمدن مدرزا. مدا بم فلا كعاعد دل مهكه وابعده وسد لاعده وومهك سركس المنوص بروروع قدوص واحد شهروع هده. كديم بهم فك عديدا بقومه عمل والتودا شكما مكدوم وهذا. واعلم دروكذا. وعوما وقعمما

وسم المرا من مرزا كيوا من مداريون ما المرابية من حرا المرزاد المرز الم . ادكوه مدعى موا مدين بعز اكتوا . فالمال بمع كفالها نسطه. حزا كم به جدا كا عزوم و حزه در حالا. در درا كم وحده و وكم من مله عددا. احدة بع بدوا معسلانه من محدا حزان دد المعادر والمعار والمعار در بال كمكدا مود رمدا بدحدا. امر زموطت بعد مهمز ، وکولی بم بکسا مو بسامه كموذ موم والم ركز. ومكد الموس ودودها بن المحدا بحدا كمكدا الدلام وعدلها بعم وكما تحد الماميد الماميد الماميد المدا المدا حددا حددا حددا حددا الحدة مجتن المتل موهما المعلم والم المعلم الماسم المعلم ا ٥سيمن أوهد بب الانسط . مدلي بها مدا معدم حموم حموم مدا بم عدستوی فی وزا. صله به به وصوسه لا فی معد موا دنسطا درکام اللايم وذانها. افخ بعد مودهم من امني . يه معره عدرا بهمدا وبلا مودا: احدا بكم ببدكة ادا صوحها كب حدكم حرد اكتا: وبدكة ادا: وعدمه النف بدود عن كن وحدا كة الا الاحم. نسم مول بهم المدم وكمرم وحدم وعدم ومده وم حسيم قدم مهم ازمكل بمعدم من كديكة ابوسوس ودخد با محريكا مريكا من . عدد اعدا مدد حامقده در مده وكمن عده الكرهم دكم به بالديا مد و ورد كن موسهوس ددكن مجمله مدها داددم حزمكم دانها معكور بحدا مقدر عده عدده اعظمه درحم من أ. أو أو كعدومة همدن وأو أدع بعديد المدا عمدم دامي كم. اه املم بنوم. موده به بالما من بملم دك من قدم ادرا. اطلا كحدم ببدأ الابحز. الل اعزب بعزا كمة حزه حكسه الاحكال عديه. والالمحدم عدمه وعنوه احدما احدما وامعالم حم زامنا المكته: احده بعزا كتن داها سكعهم بعز كما حزن. بلا دادكمه ومده معده المدار والمعده دل مدهدا موا. درموا الموا سهما وذكم حرج و مرح معاده كمه: وكمعاده كما دهوما لا مرحا. واحد سمودا واحد زسما واحد كمن أم دم عداده كرامه ورب حددما بم

نحصوره كيدسورا مروي؛ مداد مروم دمر محموره محصورا كما بضحم ابته مع حمده الم بم احمده حمد حمد المهد من بعود مدا دسزا وجزم کهزواوها وعلی کبومهود: به سدا پددنده، بهوا حدرا كوكودسدا. وفع معرود مر مدا وزعم البردم. وامده عكس مكدهما بسلامه/ كدم. وإسزمه كنسطلا الابدس. « 10كم بم كالا ربدزا. منه ا محمد بعدد کر مودنف. که درمدا کشسما فرم مورا عنمود وعدكر كعدمدده: ولا دلا كرة ا ودلا كرة المن حدة ادا احد وافعة اتم، فيهم بهمة شمع وقمم قدا معيدكما. وعدادهم ولا قد مدعدم وعدا داداكر قدم سحم به ادم عدا بوزت كمب، ولا يمعك در يمعك اتب. كتا المن بسر مديده): تجمعا نطره ا ونحما ونحم دسنه الم المان الم المان الم المان الم المان الم المان المحدد: وكعدد أمر دابب لا المسحد عنوا كمة المن فه احا بكمة ورقس انما. أمر واعدام اندم المره لا موا حكسود بهما موا. حرما مود بهم ودا. الم احد ملي احدهم وزاره لاكما. كوموم محمل كل بهوذا افخز: در حصم ادا. عدله الإدلامه والمدود امر عله وزوه المسرم. وامر بوط حل بدا بحد . مكون على أونوها موا . معوميس على لادا . نسعدا بي بعطا اعده ببدوده عدم داحد مسدولة بكة احدا. وإحد لمدنة بماذا بدهما. وكيدوعيه فيوريدا. أمر بمنا منهد. بهكدا كم معمنا مرا عمرا بموا كره. مهر بر بن مو كزا كرة ا كوروس احدمد عدلها بداسه عدده من اه دعدا عنهم عدا عن الله ودعدا قده عدد. امر بهم ا وامر قد معدا. وامر نشع لاكما وه كوزا كتة أور بحداً مقداً. تعدهما بمهلا باداً. وسحده إبه وزا. وحدد الم بعدون ا: بنسعد الخدا. دعد الهمتم كعد عن اكتن دعد الممن نسكم لأكما وعكرهما وقالمولاً. أو دهدهم بهذ اده وزيد لا دعده. جدر سمة موا ولم وعدا كعزا كمة الماد ما مهمولا مماحيس. املاكم معص حزوساً عنه الكية الم والم على عما من المع عنه الكية المكور وال

موهد درا واحد مع المعادل بي الما المعادل واحد معدد المعادل المعادل واحد معدد المعادل معدد المعادل واحد معدد المعادل معدد المعادل واحد معادل واحد معدد المعادل واحد معادل واحد معدد المعادل واحد معادل واحد معدد المعادل واحد معدد

لا عصدون رجة مقدما: ببلا حدكمه وبلا حديدا موا هوزمدم ك وبحد كسعودا. وحد مكبر دني لا اعديد ا و بعوا للكتودا. وحدا واحد كسمعدا ودوه المدا الده الده والمجاد المكمى واصداد المكمى وعدوا مد مرادد ودود معدة. أو دا المحم عدا المحمد المحمد بحده المدمدم، امر بكعاعد منهادا. في حدا مدما. در حسد ال امدسم عدوم معدكه المر بدع مصحوس عدمدا. باعد حد مردا ذي يعك ويعدوه مراكم لل مرادا حمد ميكوا مح مودو درادا وداه مح عدعد زمه وسمجدا. که مرم به اعدیم در اله عدده محدده محدده ذرموده نمروالم اسموم ورجاماه وماويه: ودرا مرسداده؟ فيهمة. وجل بدالا ودوزوم كمكدا عكم سب فكما بهزدا. دب به احه مقدما مهدا وأومره فكرمدا: وجده دها ولاكما: وانكا بعدا المعكم، ويدودورا الاعكم عربان واملاحب بنوه المحمده محمدا ديهم حزه العاموس، وحلى زعد المعلى والاحد كم دكه وم احدكوس حز للمس كمار. وموليون كم الهزز. وفرعدوس حم امدا قدے کی عہرموں قدمتوں، واسہددس کم درہ بمولمون عے موتمة وامكم اهديد. ولاعده الإنكود المحمد مواكمة العددا. ٥٥٥ بمحمر ١٥٥٠ مخي حدة مكم هد حني ١١٠ د دكوهم بي النائم وحمد النائم وحمد قالم المعالم والمعالم و عدوة بي دس موم بوه و حداد واعدك عكرا وبعدا. ونوه

محمد ساء بعده حزمها. به بحده حدد مدا مدحدا بفرهده اعداد حده مده بدا مدهد مده بالمده مرح مده المعداد بعدم مده بعداد بعدم مرد مده بعداد به بعداد بعداد

لحده محده و بقده المحدة و المحدة و المحددة و المحددة

حكوقلها بع بحدمدع كم كعكملهم، در ضعوا حدم، نغم صدرا بدلادا ببعما دهمما صمم بامكم صدمدكم بفلا بسهون انه مزدا. دلات بع محدان و محكمهم لانسمعه اسب مجمر. صلها داحتما صيدادا احبهم حمدمهددا دامه كر صها عكما: الحدر کر کوفال کے معدما وصے بقرا کی حاصے وکا دکت معدودی: ٥٥٥ برخم بالاه حد قدد دمقا مدمدام بدهدا بن حصددا: وأحمر انه حدة حدة. المجلك كم بنوم موا الحدم. وعدهم به فالم المعدم والمعدم والمعدم والمعدم وعدم وعدم المعدم وعدم المعدم وعدم المعدم بممن مع حكمير كسوط بكم معون اله: وحدا اقد شما وكدكم كاذهم اله. در عكمه مدمل كعربدا: مفهمه درعدا كم لإعزا وحم العزاه والمعلادة، ونكعم حداد على حدد بيمام المعمال ومعدم معين ادع كرد والممتوى معتمده وكمع ومدة وصعما سعما. حيما وعدموا. وعدما وبدقوا ولام معما . وعدم بمعه حزيه وهد بنتا ودكه. وهد فكحر ادحدا. هد بحزمكم كنب. معرصة ا برمي. مبعكمهم، قدمل بهم سحمد ا معهد ٨٠٠٠. واعديد اعديدا. وأموت. ويشرأ. أحدم وأنعدم . وعندس يشرأ احسرا. ٥٠ دوامل معرمامل محرول بعدم على مكر حديد كمقال مفعد حمدا عاعني مكم دكس وكداره وعداره واحديد حراجيا صيا الم نحروه والمعنى حور ميارا الحرب دم دندام حدا العرب محادث حصرافذا بدكه بادلات صلي هصر واعنى بادر بعد عكما بعاعديه بعكمهم احداد اف بون دين بعد دوسا بعدد الولمونهون المر مكم عدمدا بقوم عدم كعدا بكر بعرم كم بعدموم لا به وأ. مما عداديد عدمعا بينكوس بكم دهقوردا ننبدا داهدا. اتكت عنول يهم وتهمت قدمدا واستدا فوده وولا لمسطولا ادره: حجكما الم حدون حورز المرام حبرك مباهم حررا محامه لاتما بعبم لا العدك وحدة استدا اعن عود بل ادلا كم حبيد بالمرح وذا: الحام الحام وهم المان محمد المن حاداً لا محمدهم عدادد عدوم حدالم . أحد ادسد سيدام عصدومد امعنه بهدا عدما. صرا بم حدودا فعودمد کر حکسود وادی درما ادم مرحدامد كعدكوس بسدا سندا مندون دادامد: بال خوب كعدد ا مكوسم حزما: أه كندم مكدسا. أو يم عدر لا الممصم مدا وحدم مصدا حومورا معيدا: ولا عال ويصلاع محدا اهلا كون حزحها حدكرحدا. مهمااس جحم ادست مجدر ذرا جمعرا مجت حسدا وذوهما ذمح حرمما حدة مكب بم ابخز. بعدكسه عدا كم بدكم موطم حدد حزدنا الاسداد. موسلا بم احد حدود بدكر حدة عدامه بالموهد، ٥٥٥٥ الاسراء كعكده ا وتموصم كمه كمها زدا. مدمنهم كعكده ومكر عندما لمحما. مع به احدا عدم احدا معدمة اصبدا بته معدا: به واللا محكمت وأوزد مس معدد مده المان الم كنم حدكسه حديا وزدم دم مكده دور مهدلا مع إلى صلهه مد الم واحد احتمر خصر مؤدا وبننكما استدما احد كن معنون ولمسمما نحدا مرا بعد بكهمية بعددون موسد هدانا بدكر مونية كذا: وأمر وعدم مقعم الموهله عدوم وحمم لا أددن كعدكده ده ا الل مدوامه حدكموم معمدما معدما حركمدا بحدك. ممر درسه، فرد و زنه وزنه وزه مدهد درسه المهدسه المهدسه المدا سفقذا: معدده مدادل مزوادلا مولعدا بدكر معدمون معرم محدر المر وعك حديداً ولا مصمحدا منف ذور محمد وفي حديداً ولا محمد الله وم

الرحامل روعد مر اقدمون محود موه و محمون حازم و محمود ٩٥٥ كرم، ١٥٥ بم أحد حدد ١٥٨ بعاطة ا. معمم حزدمدمه مدامد محدودم من وعدودم من ومع داودم معدد استردا اعزد کومدکرموں میم دے محامدا سر دحدر کر سدکھدامد كومدك عنومون بن واحد بن حمر استرا بوده واعترا حكمه دلهم وه ومح حدده بعد محر محصده العصمدود بديا باللمودوا: باملاهمه موا محددوا مدر دلاذ فكمسل ومكموه بم بن بدود دروم مع قدروم ببدوسه احسودا بموندهم ا والمراصم موا العصموط وحراد بهونهما عبمداً. احد من حجم عداعدا كومد العنومه ومروه الما المعنون معنوه ومداء في ومداء ومداء حے استدا حاصم کرمامہ کرموری دورا کران واستدا میکمرا ذحراحیادی دلممنم كود انتا عيدا دوعا كموعدا. حددا احدا اهد عكمله احسمحا ذحارا نسائس واحمرحتاس احسممحا ذحارا ذاعامحمرس محساما دميم ٢٥٥٠ بوروع دحره ودوم حرصا دلا اقد معدودا سر سر كدس وكد من دهن وفرده كوكدا بتموكرا بام مواحده احداً. عداعد مداعد من والمحمد والمداع مرح المع المحمد المح وعكمالهم حل حصر عتم. وحل وودز وحل دخما. واسزد على حبار واستردا حال سيرحدا. وعود استردا حال معطوده دري الدها واستردا حل بحدكمه. ٥٥٥ أسزل حل عدمك أدرا بصعده الم مكر ما دوم و وي: الما معدد على معدد ما معدد الما معدد المعدد الما معدد المعدد الم ٥٥٥ معمري وعدما ودلا عدم دوم معمر المعمل ال وحيزا. وإسزدا كل نسطه احقدم وكل هلمدا وكل يكموده بموسع. ٥٥٥ اسزدا حل كما بكجم جهزا. ٥٥٥ اسزدا بدياد الديك دمده محكداً. در بع دات مدل مدال احدا بعسر مفن بنداج اوري مكري: بحراحدهما بطازه كلم حوكم الموحل المما المدن البيد منود دجها مكارا درنعما جم همه نجسلامدرا دادك ادك ديوره معمرا والحداد مكس كم بم كمدا علاعزا. عبد كم مكعدس كدسي ندا

عے صحبہ وادحا ویقدم وجریان مرحا وحصنی وادحا و کے معرب وادحا و کی کارود کو میں اصمود و الی مودا و کی وجرب و کی کی محلوم و کی اور کی دور محلوم و کی محلوم و کی اور کی دور محلوم و کی محلوم و کی اور کی دور محلوم و کی محلوم و کی دور محلوم و کی دارد و کی دور محلوم و کی دور محلو

حل بدنسط. الماهن حل بدهنا. المكتب حل بدنها. سم حل بدنمه عدم عدم بدنمه عدم دل بدنمه عدم دل بدنمه

# الاحران در المران مع مرامع المعول ...

عدل محمد الما حدى و الماهم المحمد المحمد المحمد المحمد المحمد المحمد على المحمد المحمد المحمد المحمد على المحمد المحمد

# وطركمي اقتصمدا حلا مصدورا.

# وكع مدكوهي.

# محارجها احماد المعادد المعادد

وكعدوم و حكور وأر كعدونوه لا عدمد الله لا المود حلا ندلا مدور الله فدر والمادور وال

الم قدم الم قدم الما واحدم وكعرم حرم بمحمه كر اقتمى بسكسي. عدل الم و المحمد المحمد المحمد المحمد والمحمد والمحمد والمحمد المحمد الم حددهمم وده كعددة. وأحمر ولا وده الدى التصمرى ودم ودلادون وداكمون وجوم واقسمه لا موجم موه وكعدا حود قدم صقدماً معرمي: وقدم منهمها عدم كحمر. لل يمن محمة لادم وداولا حدة قرعدا: ادكم بحمد دمم زيم ٥٥٥٠ الا دمعور عدم عني أهزا. بلا حبرم بكنون قبعد الماد احد كريدة. عدال مدل مدا. دحد أو احد محمة زيا من الله حداده الله حداده الله عدم حدم زيا من ا ادلم زبس محمز. وأف شدم دلزب دزبه. ولادرا كر كا احدر. بحمد حدم زبا. در دنده کر مددسا کعدرزه کدسر بے مددا ابد كمن، والماهم كم احا ودلا. ولا عده ما ماد واهلا عدد، حدم ودر عبر حرحمده فاحر ، وهوه حدم دهمة ا بدسره كترا سر كسر . ٥٥٥ سعب دهمه دسکه عن دکهه کتبوهم . لا بهم مکمل کدل فع بعدمدد حصدوا كنه ولا عدمده الكم بم بعد بعدم بدر وموم حصور المعل فلا محلسكف فده ملك الرسوا المحمل فمحسب كعديده. بوده اده محمدس بلا دامره. احدام بادا محمدما بدهذا حل حمكت حكمكا. بحسب سن احدا موا مومدها. وزوسا والسبحه الحرا المحد مسددا. واحدده ابعقا كلمهمدا بعزدا. دو بع حرددا اسزدا بودا مدا معطولا بقدا. داحره دكمور قسما مسودا. حسى ال بقدا. والدلهن ابتما حدولًا بمسل من حدودا باكرا. ومودا حلمة حاددا اسباء ددهوا محصولا دهوا: وجامة ادحا حمر المودية. مرامين قسما حمر ورعدا بحديد وحمر المدا بهين كمدا معدا دعر براته و در در در ادمقا مع دوردا: امر سحتومه وحدملا: حے قدم الحمد الله مصب در ۱۹ مرح الم ماحه المحمد والمحمد والمحمد والمحمد 

بنا عدنه. کعسدک قدید ایم ایک بعد معدم که. ویموا بار حكمكوم حدانميوددا. أمر حز الما بمولا باحد بوه حدم كعدديه موم كدا. در احد تورى ديسم امري دروه وسكم كرا: درسدكم حصالحمور، ودموه وسلم ودسوكه سر حسر، وحمورا مركما وكما ٥٥٠٠ دكن دعم عدد المدا عدد المعمد عب معدد ال فعدد المن الم واعن وروم حراح المعدد المعد محسورت دن ورا فده سا دسا مامرا مه دومورا دوره اودرا دمعدرا حفيز. وعدم ميمار كشدا: بحد دكسور معده بكسا دسوا صمددس. أميا صميمة لحدا بعدم منا عدمها: بفكردا بحرص كدعدا المسلم أمره عكم لمحمدا: درسورا خدرا لاحرا دمع الأسرار علم لمودم ٥٥ المع بيد بيد محمد حرس حيم المعلم وما وما والمعدد ودم المرس الم الم الم المنا بني: صدف كما رحمن بالم موا كس المرا ضهرو. الل امل قدم الما واعلنها والعنه والمعنى من وكما عدرمه كم حركم: ذوره مي مود مي المرام المحال المعلون والم ماجه در المعلون المعلون المحلفة المحل حدا الن وحدا بودا من ولا مع عده مر عدر وكم عوم بعدد والم مؤلا حده. أدل بم حزدما سكما: بحر وه وكحز عدي وه وكدلا صدر ٥٥٠: ١١١٥ احدم كر معط عب حدم بهذا بهاده ٥٥٠م كورزا وكما كم كموا ودما وضد الله. قل موا دم امل مرا كر حمدا بدر سامرا: محسفرا حد محر ۱۷ فعنوا ماميرا حدد جدوا دارا محرسورا المدا عدم كحد . الا بعدا من بدعم خدر الله مضر الله كم عليك والمركع مسالا حسز اللا بمسامه. أه حاها بيد وبمحا حعدما حكا بامل به فه معلى وعدا بحديده كعدا عفى اللاكه. عدما نسم بمدا إدل من نسم كم . منا حمد إدل بعر دموا الا : والمدد كدده وكعدا بد عديه. دو عدا املا كر. لا شوا اللا. ٥٥٠ كدا امد كبر. لا عدهد ادد. عدما عددنها ادد دا اددا وعدمسه اده: کوده اولا عدیهم، بسا عدم غدم وعدما ادخا وعدمه معدم محداد معداد معدم لموزا. على بن وعدم حعدم وعدم حدوزا

لا محد الم عبر بدلا كن به وحد دوعن حبد بدل مدل المد بدل مدل المد مدار مدل المد مدر الم معرم بدل معرب عدم عدم بدل وحد مدر وحد المد مدر المد وحد مدر وحد مدر المدر وحد مدر المدر وحد مدر المدر بالمدر المدر المدر المدر المدر المدر وحد المدر

مرصور وأي المعدول وم مدون معدن المعن كر المعدول الحمر المحدد والمحرم وحامر والمحدد المحدد المحدد المحدد ادوكه ولا عرصى. الا حدة كافخة. وأحده لا حدود كما: وكم وكسلا بعے وال کہ کیا۔ حسرا بمدا اغز ادر، عادا دامیا خدا موسد كعده الما معل كم الما معل كما معن كدبر محدا محبن المحدا بمحن كه. مده كر زكمدا ديدادا. هم مركب رقما زه دالم عدومه دلعين. وي حاكر عيم بعدي. هم ميسر معدا وهم حن دوقدا. هم مرعد معدم وهمزا. احد بوده دردهم درلي حدة. هم وبعدر عدة هيما وحلا أدور حعده مع وبعدر أندا نداً. در مكما مصعدا مرصم حسر المدمر. معليك بالا عمدة بحدما بدهمة معدا. أحد كن أحدم بزدا حدم كن هم مرحم ديدا: بحدومبدا صدهم معتا عدم ومعا معصدح لازدا وعدم محم عهددا وغدم المركم مدامل عدم دوكرمم ملمة من وعود المحدول المحدود المدود كر ذكورا: وحدم لحومه كمكر مدل سال مدا فكر ادا كر ولاون دهمير. ٥٤٠٥ لاكس العدد العدد المد حن سرا بعد المداد دهما: حن سرما حدا: حن معدا ابدا. حن ععدا ومعدا: وحدلت عهذا المحدا عداسمسا. واعدات بزدا بدموكمن كدهما عب هرزا. ندا معدمد على مع الم المد المد حر منا عدمهما العدم المدا احدا احد كما عدم كدكم دكما: حسكه امر بكها. باعدام بزدا بها سكره. احد دوكره دكودا. احد حيزا نوا وعدمدا. ه

عدمم. درا بهم عدلها دامة والمدا برقودا المرعدا المرعدا المدمم محدود داشمح کر. وَکعدا امر وَکعدا. وَرَحدا امر رودوا. وعدم بعدد عدم: حرود ا بنه بلا عدم لا معمم كرد. بنه بم كدر ٥٠٠ احد من بهذا ال عدم الما عدم من عدم عن من عدم الما من من العدم من العد به معطا عد ۱۱ مدر و المحدد وال عدم المد و المعدد المداد المدر المده المداد الم فلس: اس به م کدکم به مدرا داده در عمده کمدا وعدمسرا معدسد الد موعوه كدكم عموض دو سا ادر منواد. وكدورم دروه والم معن والم معن والم معتم والم معتم والم عدرم عدا مده. والكم عدي. وكم عدكوس. وده وعرم لا خال كر. حلا عدم لا هدم . جده كما بن ادرا بين مززا معكمه عنزا. عديه بم عنزا. عبر بلا عدم حد ال عدمد ولا عدمد ورد وده ولل بنوا عدموا بنوا وعدموز مزدا. أي وب محمل ادم في كعرم بحدم داميما. لا موا كمززا في. وأحد لا كمكدا بمززا. إدا بم احد ضهد امد كد وإعدم دل مدا مرحاً. الا خدد ادا سكت بهدي. ولا عدمد وبلمزم اده عدم ددر المرمور والمعدد المدنا مدحم نمحرا لامقدرا ودحدر كمن كمن المعرب المعرب المعرب المرحدام المرحدام وكمونكامن، وحد دود كسدنكة عدي كه دولانه وهريب كه. وأبا مع چيهورا بعد موز ندا: بيسه و الم كده دنه. ويمده كفك بمد كم حديداً. ودرخ كدر الما: ودهره كركمنا بدر انما: وبعالمه المسعدا: وبصره في كروكه المسعدا. وهذا مرسط الم حودذا. الا عدا بوزه عدسه وكعدا اقعدا هيب كسه، ولا هيب كيه وسلم الله الم معلى الله معلى الم معلى المعلى المعنى المعالى المعنى كه. أو عدله الع والع وعد كسود ودوا. عدله الا عدا كن كسود ودوا لا صي الدلم. وأي عدله الا والموعد كسمود مدا. هوا مدود مدا ودوعدة

حنه. مدرع کمنعکس. سیره قدم حددما کدکلم عددما بمودنوس. عدلهو بنسعد مدمعون حدد فكردا بعودها: محدمة مكرده والالا كعديد حريد وبدار بعوتهما وحم حردا مددرد کدکسی دورود کدود فکدد مدال اور عمورا: نسكد مده لازه مين دره. واسية موهسهم ددكة ولي دنه. والما مها كمعورا دكدب لموزا: در حجر سيموا دوداا. وصده ك احدا معمد حكم حرجي. وحدم چاهما حرمدا. اله بعدم عصورا. صربه كتكعدا كس دري فكوا بدكم. در محاهة دخكرددا عجر كن احدة وكعدا مصحلا حمدم حميدا بحديد عين هوتما كديم سبمحماً. بعبون كحن حكم اهداً. واهد كيميك حدد مود جرحوا نصوبوا محك دود احدا: حذ ندوا حن الحرا حددة دحر ندم جوم حے کیمی ددنیا. والا است حے ہزدہ، عین او دید دیم سمتبي. كحديد حصيداً. واحبم كحدوه إجها واهدم مع قدكروحدهما دلا بده بم بدعدهم، عدم احده كده بها دكسى دوعدة وحصدور مرخب وركعدا من وأذوهم ميهمدا دومد. عهمه. كدنا داسة مود دددا درعدها، داسة مود دن دوسا كبداً. وعده المولا وهدا دا دها دها المولان بدول فكي بخدم موا حدة وكم الاذا: بمعدما ملاحد حدم دودا بعدمي. مونه مكم على معلى. حفره کسمعد حدده بعدد: بدعه اصحار قدا مع معل هندا حدة حدزا: بلا ١٥٥١ أم نصر عدم عدم المراد المر عدا بامل موا اذا دعكيه معدي ومديا واحد عزدا بديدا: حدره وكعدا كقددمه وهيره كيون. ولا الها كعددد . ٠

الله بع نحمدا حز سادا: معزه بهزار او حدكم على محمد كو كه دهمور هاي اهدعدا بالدعا محكومه كبر مهم حدب بهدا الله. محتم محمد محدمي حامدا بخزمزاملا كدا مه مكه همس نحدد: مكد الهدا دهمور مجه محدد بدلالا كبر نفط بكدكم والا حديم كده، وعد الم المكر ويتدا بعمد معدا المرا بلا مده والما المرا المكر والما المكر والما المكر والمرا المكر والما المكر والمرا المكر والمرا المكر والمرا المكر والمرا المكر والمرا المكر والمرا المكر المرا المكر والمرا المكر والمكر و

الل بم اغد الل باحد سولا اعداء حكسه وكوكعل مه بقدكما بعداه صيب، وهذا حمدوا كعيدة. ها بهذا احد هما. كركعا هو وصورمدا هروم وصمورم: مدمة من وكافده قبودا. من بوده بهدة كتممه ومعدا. واحد فكحما واحد فككما بنوم كممني. أمر بكعب بدامع محدور عدام المراحد ادرم بعدالهم كرون ومدسوم وسموم بمسن وكحد إلى بقول المتدا بمن دعدا ممحم سيه وا حبودا بودا: ودعدا ممحم عتدلا بقدم عدا عدا وسعد مودا تحد حدما وحدود وامدم وهيوم ويسدم كعدا ولا عديهم وامدم عيدا بستعمر اه مدي الم معاديل أه مدي الم معده الم الم صهر اصنار نصعوا. احد سوري صانع مجانه حدودات رحوا ويصبون كعدا ولا عدى مد ادا بم امر عدا بمندم ادا. احده وامدها: المحدا محاركم ككر المحدين وكمدا كقدما مكارين ومال ومان كتفير حديه قدم أنهم وكعل كمنوكيد. عله ودن عيمد المهره ١٥٥ مسكم من المار مولي حسك وديم تنده المدهدا. مداد الم عديك ودسكم موه عديد. حول مول مع ويقل وهيدا الحبيد. هيدا مودي معن فهدة. أمر داونيم فنهم نسكته. دوت هين كيمين فكحوا قدم املها عدله وبمروكم هعده حرصا حالانهور هيره عديما كموسف حديدا: والاموس هوهس، مدله الله ووودس ادم حدودا حقدما ودومل عين الامل المادل حدد اوهد: فكردا وعنها مرددا. صلحه وبوب حدم الاس دردا ، وحديد عمد فكدا : الادمهم درن ، بودا كن صربهذا: بمودهم مسلم مساح دز ادماء احدة. وحدراح دحوا مول سحنول المنورية على المان موا على احدة اوها المعن فككوا: وسع مون المكميدا اداء كلمهامه وعكم الهوها والها

كه محدداً من عنى كه . احل مكما بمزار فل الم محمد مخم ده وزا: وافع وامل كه اسبب. عبي عدا واغد عدم دسا وده ا: وكسوا صر حبرا فزا كما. أي من كسوذا الم سوزا كما. لا مود كما. عله الله ويهذا هيد. وأو كقد الم يمن الكترا. لا موه كرا. علها بقدم اده، وأى لأذكر موزا وبمهدر: وأى كمعدم محكم وعداممرم كي: ول كمعدما أو كسوزا: أو كس عدم قودها مرمع ودهوم را ومهم ولا صماكم، وحرجم بعمه لا صمكم، وال كرودا أو كمامكا الم نعزا كتا: لا موا مكم المه: بعداسمسدم حمور امر وحدب. ولى كقمها مكم بعده من حداها مكم بعدم المحدا חحد المحمد الماء على المعدد المعدد المعدد المحدد المحدد المعدد المحدد تمادسي دسالمعدا زدا: امكم وكسكوم المكا زدا دعكمان: حمكم وقدا بحدومورا معمم دعدا بمعمى حزم بع اغز ادا. بحصا بالم لا معد وا حيم وا معمد ا بالم معنا كرمكم حرد ما حدة لا عدادما. عدل إلا ادم زما كسعدا: اعدام وحمد صم بمكر محيا رمز اور قسيما: در دكم 200 لاكما. الالمكو حقاها محقمها مامكم عديده بكلمنه. المعمله حبودا محساعا. والدكسه دلموقك المروم عدم ود در مدم بعد المامك ما حدكة أذكا: واملاهم كم ومهزا: والممحد كمنا كحل انم: ودسوا دبن وال محص حنوسا أده بوده المكم وحميم معنى المكم بهده حصصه والم وحم وداوكم حاهندا عنمودا: مع وحمدم بهمة كعيدا. الدما حدرا كيمن كععد عدلا من فكر الم كيمن. ودهمسه كمدمده ودسره والمراب من دوه والم مسمح محمد كدك ودسرا حده. وأي بم حم سه وه ا بس كي: مدعد والم خسسه والم سوا. كهمكوا مد مكزيد ٨٥٠. كعدا بهم الم حدة مد أمكم ولاده حصه. الإ حمس كم زدوس أنوع بحداده بإزع. والإ عدالمحسر كم. بحمه كعداد نعده ال عمدسي. عدله العد كتة العدة عدر اندا اعده عامير الكورسوم عمر، وافع مور كمور. ومرح الكورسوم عمر، وافع مورا كم كمه، ورب الكورسوم ومرد ومرد الكورس الكورسوم ومرد ومرد ومرد الكورس ا

صدكمائه افكن ال موا حي عمد كعدامه الونسا عنموا كحد الما: امدا ودورا عرب الما فرم الالما حال محدسا كعده الديد الماء العلم وعده والم كهدم مكمل عمدا كم حودودا بمهزا. احردا بهم باعدهم بمكمل عدم حدر حددا بموا بسوا. محدا واحد حزدما. اعداب بعد ودا كون كما: حديث عدودا عد اقعمد. حزولا بهودم بحكم مود كم صرما مزمزا. لهودم المعن امر سما مقدلا دورية اسرا للمكم بعنم المسكمة. عزدا بم: علاسمس حعكما أبر بحدومها. وفاسا لاكم ببعدب وعدم كمورى وأعدم بعددمني. حد حمزز سمني. احد معسددكم. معمدي معنمي صرم والماهمة. عب عبوم ولا الماهم، المامهم المامهم المدما: المدم وكدوكما ابمعما مهم: محدر بم عصهم: بحوا مم ابمعمال حي حص شهدا ادم درموا لاحل الما بم افخ ادل با موا محم صحم حزميا مدا: دادم حمر في الدما لحدا. أي به مر دكسودهم نسدا: زدا مد سدکویم. س وعدا کموا زدا سدکویا: در بسدکور فهماا. محكوما بع موا مد واغد ادا. ولى ادم محدوم كعوم بمزمزام المحمد: ودوكوس كعرم بمزمزام لا المحمد. المحمد بع طيوم بمزمزام اممصم معدمزا كما. معزمزام اممصم مدل حبر حسكه مام. وموه مدا. لا موا عدد، واعلا عدوا بووا. الل المامس عبي حكم: مديعا كدكم دكعب المامس. ولا عداسكور ودكورم عداسكور ولا سرما عدمدس كعدرمه: وال عندسا عدمدسا كعبرنده من عدا لعدمه معمدة. والحب ونسعب

وقدا: بدسه معطم حفظ بالمحسى معطب حوده والمحسى، حزم بني دو السبع حديرا بالمحت وكا بالمحت وكا المحت والمحت والمحت

## مكم حمدا بيقوها بالازها.

بموكهده بحزدما. حصونت محاونهم هصم موه ادما بحزهده كاندار. وحمد معدم احما فكردا. وي بدول بعضم احدهان. يعدم امره. وعدم موسل مدرعا كسما. ال الم عشم المدروية حالاذا داودهم، عدرا دم داعد حلا مزدا سباد دمل ودوهامدا: بحد الن محد ويت اصر عدسا حدالده بدا دكے الن العرب حسر معرا المحمسر مجروفية حفههدرا: محسر ممحرا الم حمداً عدمدمم سدي. دحتوعدا بوزديم عبي هديدا عدمالدي. ولا أما بحركما يسحم بحرا. ولا أمكم بحديده يسحم عديم يقم. والم المرسى وحديم والماسة والماسة والما وحدا قدما وحدا قدما عدد معدم دود دود مر المحمد والمحمد وا المكم وحصوب دومم عدم قدم محره اه محزم كره ور شمع اه محدم كيمن معاده كما كحكة المكم بداهنهم مهكم تقدمون امكم ويهمة او المولامون. الم عدانسمي عدسي وعبرعدم كتمم كيميده وكما. ولا أمكم وحسولها فيصم كيتدا. الا ألاذ يرون وحد ووحل والمدسور ولا تقده عد الاتولال عدورهم كسور عدم معدها بعدسه ورا سكوا بعرجودا كر كمور كعداسمسه حرقه ا به المقدل کسی ده دور به مسلم مدار وحدار وحدده ا صدا ولا موا وسادوكمون. أكن ومن كن كلمون. أمصدا يمن وسادوكا بخسما. لا صديدا كي اسما بقصدا. واعداب بعديدا. صمصا باعدم كومدا بحديثة. محدا اهلا مداح الما بعداد: حكيا صمحس كصحوص مع حوصورا وعودونون عجوا من معمددوا. که بهز دلکیم عمدسے موسے کعددر. سے نصبے دل. وار عیم لا فدلها موه داميم كعدد، قداما مومع واستدا. اعدام وكما وعم زدا. دكسم وده ا عدم كعدم كعده والم وهود كودمدا يمن فه ودا وعرماً. كم عرم بعدد كعدكمه، واحد أوروب بعديم وكمودكم معكبي. لا موا دسال معكب الاحدمه ا ودالموكم. ومدا معمدسا بهموا احدا المهزا. معهم بنه دسم معدس كدكسه

دعدا عدنم ادلاه المحتا أحديم الحديد بقده على الاتعديدي: المكمي السرمه كيمن ولل عجمة صميحي. محصل اعتمال الم وعدلي الم الم المانمه، ودعدا قدر الم ودر المره الاتورا المرمى ولا موه ومكموه وه الاحداد و القدوس ومعدون و والمدون المدون واعدام بمركم بقوب سر مع حوقدا كعدال دعدوها لا عدد. بمناحل كدم به باسره موا. بالمحكم اسبه تموصدا كدند. وكدكمون بيقده ومركسمون الحديد الدي. مداميزاما بروندا نمد بعد المعدم كنه. من اسزدا بنه المدا باحد بنه ممكلهدا بدهمه اسم. وبداء مع دا معرم به معددا كعدمه كشدا وكسست صعدده الفن كده مته مته وكس بمحدد بعدها حب مدما. كتسمر ودوا حدوكا وعقدما برتم كمن واعفهم كعداءما بحقدداً. ولا عدادسيم عدم وعده الماذاً. ولا بذن كمن حماهمنا دوددا بعدد الم دورعدا الله ال دابوم ادع او ددور او دعور او حدود : وأل حراجدا وأل حدمدا . مدا معدما بعدم كمول عدم اقسمس خدیم. میمه بسل مور بددیم. لا سوا مح دد درا. الم يهم صعوسا بدرس متونما حموما عصمه بعرال كمن انف. أحدا بنيا كلمن فزالا وسمع بعمن محكمن الاذ واسلمسمى. كحدورا لا وسكم، صبرا كمحدا معقدم بوده وقدمه والمكم مع والا خدر ومع والا دنيم ومع والا معزيد. وعدم ولعدادم وكعددوه والمسودا والمكرم دوعدا وعداد والم دهذا هنصرب. ولا بميز بندم. ولا عدمدس حدور الم بخصر كده سكما بحدما: أه دبه ودبدا: أه دبه ودبه اله دبه ودبه اله دهم ود اه دحدا: اه دحد سبا عنى دخه ادما امكى دادما امكى ودعده مدا ال محكه حضرم. أحد استدما رقه الم كمن وال سوا المر منظ بخدم الما علابذنه حسب. در حم حدمكا سرا اف فكرم إف عدمكرم: معدمورهم معدم ، مكم يمز لا بقوم حامعده المعلقة المعلقة المعلقة المعلقة المن المعلقة المن المعلقة الم

افكز ادا كيم. كي احدى دزيمي . مكمي اجمعه . موحمد بعزمون اتم. اللا مرى ادل واعدم قطيماً واذكا عدكما مد كعده المحمد وعدامته قدعداً. معدمهم درمم در قدودا: مع مع حدم محدداً. دم سر محدون. مدر الازدل هرس وحدا بموكر لهده. وبوه مدا مدام المعوها. ابعن كدر كوميم ولا حزم فكمعوف وكعونظ مه ولموكمه المحسون موا عدد العربيد العربيد ودميرا مد اندا حمد قده . الاحساء سرا مدسم مع قدودا. تقوها فيما بعدمه مر مع مر صمددسے. لا مواریم مقدر نقوصے صمدسے دولما کمدورد بمحرا دوتحب، وأهلا لاتحسن كعدمنا بقكوما. وأها لا لاكمي مقدا كعدمدا ببوسطا. الا سيمام اده بقده حدكده مدكده مداعة الاذ. درسيوتم سيرتم. درد مدرا بوزممم كر سديمهم ، حميم ادلام، بمع واعداع مدمل كحمر وحسر مكعلا ومقدومها. املا قدمدما والم احكم حصرا بستها. وأمد استدا واحكم حصرا وقدمهما. وعود اعديد بن مدا كده ويعم ودرا قيهما. ولا موا حملا ودوس حكسه بسحم موه قدلمم وإشهام والاحداد والكوكم . حدمكمها باقسمه السمسه. واقرا بعير بامكمك كسم دالهنه. وادم محمداً. الا حدول توسيم وحدل قدعدم. ولا الم كولموم اوعدولا: بيه د منعده در در سلمهم سر دم سر د مكه مقدمها بقدما مون. موا كعدموا لا صمدسا مول. الا مومدا ودولا. عدله وتسمعم اده منع قدسما: مع سمكهدا بقس ادما شهماا حروديد حمد زمور.

وحددا دكما. ودم عده تدارما وداعزا بدوعنوس، بك هوعنا واصمده وحب وعدم فيد ١٠ وحسومهم عكد ١٠ وداهدما. وحدكموم الاتورا بعلى المرا بعداله وساله وسال والمرا دكم بالتما وحدما كتسا. وحدم يرما. وحدوها بحدد برونو. لا الم سرا لا ्रेट्रा भी हिंदी. भी ट्रेस्ट्रा भी हिंदिन कि कि एक कि कि कि कि कि कि कि من معمد ا بمزود مردك من سوزا بدكم دكما.» دعيد دوكة دوكمور انقا عدا بعداب. عدا بمنعدا حمور دهما بعكم كتكدا. وقلدا مه ادكم كقدما بدوكة عبد. والم صمدست رعداعد دورسه عدرا مدارس دو هم دسه کسی همدا دم انع دهنهدا حامعكا عسم انكا. محدا بمن حدمت بعدمكيم امكم وادكم كسه قددا ف مروما دكس اعدم وعدم حدورا مه مفرم ودهد من من الا مقرع دور مدر مدر وا محدسم مدم كعاعد ودكس مقا وهدوما أمكم ومقبى. هم كسم حمد تكرمتهم انه معكما: حانما حكما عسم انكا: امحدا بعدممكرم قد الما بمفرم حدوداً ، برعدما محدم وسدوما مدامي. هلئ عدم اركم وعدم مهكم حمانها. ولا عدمدا ودولا ودوكموم بتعدما يموا سمر حدا تكرمهون. هموز معدا حديث انه مكون. الا حدكمن الازها حدكم وحدا عدم عدمكيم قسما حدم تكرا بعنهم سر مع سر ، ١٥حم نقده مده بحتم ادما كعه مدا. وعداد المراجعة والمراجعة والمراجعة المعامل والماح والماح المام والماح الماحة المام ا زدے. وال كدردعدا برادكور دسرا. وال كدرسدا بال بسحور ددامور وما رمكامي، ولا كتقديوما ولا داميون. ولا كقديدا ولا دادكور ادى دهده رحة عيما المعرا الماد ولا الماد ولا داددهم والمحدد ولا دردون محدهم \* \* \* \* \* ا. ولا حبه معل بلا حدر در درون اسبم الاتها. ولا كيكما ولا يصحه سركسي ولا لاتجاده ويوحم. بحرا. والم الما بحسودات بحكما كر حدا مكرا: بداسمسه

مرك اندا \* \* \* \* \* عرا عدال مد المرا د المرا وطوساً. أمكم وعدي معدي معدام وعدي اقدمه والمندوم ملكم كمن، ودعدا اقتب. أحد لا مدرا حدود كمن، لكن ما عكمعلا وامل حمور بمحمور من محمور المر دها. وأحد قكم مدا من كرمن و المر وخزا ولا المر وصد المدد كرمن عداده معدمها داسه كسهرى، ولا صمدما وحددا بمكم دكس ، بحراما وحددا ركزا طركرن وبدوا عمر كدور حدد مكزمه واعدف. حم دكمت دما بدون. وشمسوعا بانص ودفكهما بعدودا. دا المحمرين المعلى وحدون المار من حدم حدم مرا المار المراد المار المراد المرا وقن معل وحيد محدد مع الما المعلم المعلم الما المعلم المع ودوكمم قدم عدم كحوم ويم ويدوون والمرا وهم عدم المراد والمراد त्रः । किया हित्रा कि के प्रदेश कर्या कर्या कर्या । स्था كمه كمب. الا أمر ستها مرا احب حمده درددا بها ال كنده عدمت محدي درا. معل بجديد خدي صله وا حيديا ندا ماكم المحرا مع المتعمل فروم حمام معقد التحديد وعدماه عدم دعدم وقدمد عدمه داردا. وحدي دود الدوم. وعلم بمكير. أمكم ببوتها المع ميم كسوى وكنقدا فكرحم. وميمكم ودها. وامر وهفر دمدا. عدلهه الا وحسر مزسا حلهدم دكميم. احد حسر مندا تكين. مدمن ملحل محرمة مكمل مامودا بعصم كي. وكرمم سُكسى معتدادي. ولا معمدس سب عب حوقدا كعكرزه كنوده حكمور وحدا بعدمكرم والاسمان بد دمحا بقكرا ودرو حدددا بدكيدا. واعدم وهم منعمس عمر دكدم ددددا بمنعمين. خدر ومن ا من كوها مهتوامها وحدا به بدكم احدم بنه، كحرب حقيكا وتمرا واعدا وحقالها. وحالانا حكم بهدا وبعدما.

العدم المراجع على المراجع المراد المراد المراد المراد المراد المردد المر كدةما بهقدا. مكولد المع در ودا مدمكوا. معمس قدمدا لخذا. ولم موا عدل وحدودم محدا عدادتني. الما عدل معدوها بعمر كمن، وحكمن بحزا الله تسعد المدرا وكذب وانطل وا معدسه رمرامی دردرسه ها دیرما: هبمرا در اس میمرا در اه حرولا: داعزا درمعه المار والم كدكس المحدد ودعدا ودعدا وداعد. وهام انه وحدم حاعزا: الان بدهمد بعدمكيم عدرا ففكموا قعدوما. نقعها بحسكنها وحسر دم دهميدا بعدمهم قعدا وعدمعدم كمم دنيا واقدمدا مدر عدم بكتدكمم. وتحدم تحمل وبقد كهدم قعدات بمدا مقداها هقدا. ممدم مكم نقل دحدوداً لا دائن، الا حدمادد حمر دخرمت وحمر دودورا دازكم لإدرا نه وفعي كسم دخكسم، ولا بعكم الم كولمب. مدله وامر وكعديد السبب كرم قدور كدة ومن وا مدورون كعلاعن: بكدكم بقا حسدة عدا كمر دكم وانه. حلمة ا معدد عدد وحدم حداد معمد المعامد المعام المعا وأودتما وحبحدا دم تعدا ددم اوتما دحم كبدا. ال حكسه إنبا بهمنا عدمه الله الاحدانبا بنه ما حكمت معدا بهه وزا. نه واكن عصم دناما. دون ما حسكارا معم بعدما دسكارا بدر بابد حديدًا الموندا: احم بقدا موبا. بدانهم. حدا قعدا. فكم بهدد الم ورا يدود ا زفي خاده مد ده ده وه المدر الموذيا فدمني، معمده. مع جدرا بعدد مكوسا. فع بعديها اه امر بددا اه امر صلحوا الم لحد فيها. أي دمي الم دركما امر خدد حر بدراً. عود عد عد دهم عردا كمها. دعوها \* \* \*

وجمعدد الم عصر مدار الم عصر المعرد ال المحمور الما المحادث ا كدودوديا. وامد حدوم كقل صها وددودا: ولا مهلا بمهكره. ولا كعدد البيكور ولا دردور ولا دادكور حسزا. ولا دهدور سعدا. وحددمون بمركم سرا كر مركم لا مده وكفا بقدم الم كمون لإدما مكم ما مح بحمدا دعمها بعده كمن مكردتم. تصمط إسخرا ذحى دام وعمر إسادا حدون وحد دعرعما الرحم الله موم على المعمد من المعمد من المعمد المع وكسم كعدادة المدون عدادم ودرمون ماكمكم ودرمون كحرب هتما اسندما: احمى بكدة دعدا لا محمن، دده دعكما بمديهما. أمل قدمدها بحدميا ادكم حسيرا بقدمدها. أمحدا بهزدا بحقودا ادكم دهزا بستهاد ولا حقددا شما كره كدرد عددا بدحدين رقما قدما قهدها . ولا حقدها لاقا اهمه كمندا بقدبوما بلا دحدبه قدمه المرب حقددا بمعمة صدمدم دالاتها وابف كسه وقعكما والمعدا اهده كنون وادكر دهوا وقسما: ولا دلسمسى حقدادكم المتحدا مقدم ان دصما بحرسد المحمد المعدا والمداد معده كمن يقدما فيهما. بيمن يسحب بقا لاشهكمن وكشيدمن. وكقدل قدلم ورام بعوسعب ويسحب أحد لاقدمام ومدسم مح مكم ووزهم الخرزه وموه دعيم وحالاز وزلم ودوزلة. محلي حلوه محدون الم معدمة على معلى محرا الازم مقدم ببوه. حسرا معدما بعمر سوا التسمي مداندني. وا محمد وعدامية درده والم في معا ورمادا نه الما دري منمرا حم همزا: وكم دور حدما بدور حقدودة. در شمر كمر انس. وصميناه وصمن الدول وويده المراجع الما مقدمه المراجعة وصميره وقدمور وكمزا لا سندم در ده دهوعما وده مقدا فعر بفالها سز مح مربع. محصم دزمما مدنا دحنادا مدادندد. دموما  الالمحمسة، بلا مددا مع حديده معدده، معبه كول كر وددا المحسب الالمحمسة، بالا المحمد معرف المداعة ومداء المحمد معرفه المداعة المحمد معرفه المداعة المحمد معرفه المحمد معرفه المحمد معرفه المحمد معرفه المحمد معرفه المحمد المحمد المحمد معرفه المحمد ال

حدورا افدن. هذا معدب معدالمحمد ادا كر. مدكور بعف ادا كب هذا ادا. «

حددی افخی فیم کر ددترا بقدیما بدددی فده بدهه درمده درمد فدرا محتم حقددا دعده برا بدهم تدیا بدهم درمدم انترا درمه برایده برایدها بدهم درمدم درم

حصرا افذر وعم كمه قلاص ودكومها الله لل منود ادل المكم اده وقدكما : وامكم والهما «

حز بمرى افكن مصم ممكودا بدتمه الاتمار.

حصرا اعكن مرمكا وصعدا بمحدا المعدد ف

حزيمي اغنز. جعد محمد ماهدد. بلا مدا عدمامه مده معنى بوسمب دود حل حسمه محمد محمد محمد وحده والمه وحده والمه وحده المه المعاد ال

وهمموامل بحبه بحدرات بعدان دميا مك عنمروني مدر حجدا من بسكما من إوه وه مدارك بدها مكرحبدا من بكلمه بدكسه من الم فسددونا: بن وعد من احد مكرا. همودلا انه مر وسر ومد ومد بعددا طامتم بود بعدرنم كددا. وعدوهم دا محمزودي. اعدم وعدودا كره عدود ١١. معمد داء وما عدودا واسم حمده الما دعده ا بدهمه ومنه بعدا عدمن قبدا. واعدا واحد بوده اسبع الازمار وزوعل فوم همودلا كحددا. ولا كتسدما دكسه، عدة الاحرح احراد كنسه الما مكواتا. والتحية ومدار وكقدوكم وقدل وكدكورم وإدا ددورا والمدر ورودواوي معلها من وكي قدا ممتسه الم حديد فكمادا. الم قديما وسحنون وولا عدورسده ١ صدر درعدا مدال المرده وبوب موا منصم معرض ان مرحمان مسحمان على بمحنى المسم حسازه ا مح گما فهم. باحد بودع حقوبا حموکی دهمهري. اه درده اه دامسده امددا بسرمد بفسه سكما كديدا. توديا صعدست کعسرا اف کسازه در بندا که کسکما ٥مدما. لا بع حدل عدم المحدا باحد لا به مدما حدل عدم بنا كحمدا. فلا من من بدك الممسى ودمدا: بحمدا وبسكما وبمانكا: ويدوه والمعتب حسمه المراق في عدا والمدكم والمعتب حسم والمعتب حدادا وصدرا. احدوا بالسوم مرم بن امدا بعفر. احدوا دموا حدمكوا معمر وحسان معمران معمرا بدرسه الما محتدان

حصباً افخی بلا موا مع حدیه فدهد دیدا الهده مع محم بسومه و باله موا معمامه معه برا موا مع سکما و معمود المها و به ادم المحمد و باسم موا معمود و باسم موا معمود و باسم موا ما بازه و باسم و محمد و باسم موا ما بازه و با بازه و ب

حزبر افكن عب موز ولا موهام مدردتم شدم المدا

المكرزة عرصا كموكعا بدل عديد محدد مددا در احد دهم معل دعده معنهما. ولا عدالي بوه فيزا. ولا عدالية عكم بن محمل وحكم وحقدا وحجم ما حمرا. لا يمن يحزا بن احل عے مرم معدمد عن القدمی والم ادمی اصدا اعدا مدے مرم عک مدین ورمامي رحيا عدم وعدم وعدم وعدم الموسد الموسد وعدم وحدم وعدم وحدم المعادمة بودے حدیدین. می مرم مکے قدم واعدید. لا موا عدور و حدیده و قدمكي، الا احد مدعمة قمع معي بكمدهكيه، احدا باحد حيرة بتدا عدا بعده لا معمريم. ولا معمد مدور كعدال كدور قدرا: حردور المراكم كم مدا كعدال. واحد لا عدد مددس به مرعا الله व्यव्या ०१५ व्या १८३१ द्या १८३१ ता विष्य दे विषय दे वि حدادلا معدما حدم المعدد المعد بمكرة اتب بحدا. الا اعدام بمكف بخدم اختوهم واتوهم بحددا. المبيم الا محمر عدم مدا دس محب وقدا بعدم مرا عدما محرح مدوز کم کدیا معمرا محرح معمر کم معدان معر معدا موما عندما مموعكما بحي الماد مد ومعدا بي وحسكما تنصب حديد وهوتسدا حديداً. من حدا مواهما برديداً وبنقداً. ودعماً باتعم وعاد مع معلماً بع مدما هدالاً. وووزمدن بمعدوماً. محمكة لمعدد مرسده المن بحكم بمعدوم المحني قسما حزيده و حدا فوا كرا وقدا. وكي مكما حرح صدمدكم كذبا وحرح مدم ومرد وحرح مدند والا حردد وي معے حسل مدعور ا دعدموسدا کدوکسوں کہا معے سکوا موسل صدمون ا بصحبه المراكرية والمراكرية والمراكرية المراكرية المراكزية المراكزي موما كرحده والعمله والم عدد حدا حفر وبموه ويتا قمما كتكسط وسقمط كشطل ويمون تمم ستكلادا كقسال متنكموا كرسدا. مدعا بم عدر بسهوه لحدا تعما كقمهما. مقدال كشميط ونرحزم حراديا بمانها فكسطا كشدكميل وتصحا كشكموا.

در سحیدسون وزدسودی سرحمح حصری وزدسود کهرمد کرده رقول المحدا واتحم. ولا حولاذا وحمد الإكون بالمال معدلمون اللا كمه شبسبول ولا سمكمعدا بحيرا كمه دكمه قددها. ولا الحب وخدادم برعدة إمد عدميم حدودة والمرم وعدم المم فعدمعدم كسوى وقده المحدا بزدم. محرح لا عدم معد المحدا بالا فحم. ٥٥١٥ حدة عدمة المحدا واتحم، ٥٥١٥ عدم عدم عدم المحدا ولا اتحم. وأمكم وبرعدم الم معصودم ادم ععنهم امددا ولا وحمر مسمم حدكما المحدا ولا ذجم. وعداماحم كرقودا وحتم عديمور. وهيماا عدمريم قدم ولا حزدم. واستدا حزدم ولا عدمه. واستدا عدمهم. وقدم كركزا وكتادا. واستدا كلانب امصدا بزدم، وعكلادنه امصدا بلا زحم. واستردا عدا محكم امددا بزدمي وعدا محكم امددا بلا زدمي امد وهيما، كه المحم وزحب وتركمك المحم والم وصيما، كـ٥٥٥٥) أمكم ولا زحب، ووكتكم كـ٥٥٥٥) أمكم وزحم، ومحددا صمددسا وحدا: وبقها وامعة وشوكمدا وحونهدا وقدما: وأبها ولاسد مدوا ستعنى: ولا بوقد وموكلوا وركى. الا داركم وبقوم أمر عذا برحمني. عداندم سعم حصم صفيم. وكول امكم ولا بحمني حسم عدددهدم عنى صلاحن ، وعنى أمدم بقوم كر حبالا ندمني. عدممام رحمدا واحد مكم واتدمع حصبى الم موا عدم ورحم حصب قوب کے. الا بودے قوب امر عدا بقوب وحدددمے عداددے مدبے محمدمم لا. محمددسم قسما بعد بخدم مد حديا ممامة. وحدكما وزممامه. وحدادوعي الم المر عدا وزدا. داعد وم عدماً. وسوا دلا سكما إلا موا دلا ولا مكري. والحدال بم مدوحت مدا بعدم المحمل مكول لحصل من بعديدا: بالمحمد كقكمها والقالوده عركماً. وحكمة حلا من العندم المحمد مكوم محدد عدداً. حقدمارمون بروم دهما. منده بعما حقدمم بروم وروم حيزا. وق مدا مرحما مرام المرحم محراً بعدا حدمه المرام مران بعدا حدمها بعدد ا معددا عددا كدورندا بنه عبم بحسدا بكما محله دودا:

مكم بعد مناز ومورم استدا بكت كمرا المحدا باصحدود تسعم، المحدا واحد ادا حرح وننص مهم كنه. اعدم كمه حرودا اسبال بحدما مد دهما بحراما باسرا مرحا مدر محرم بقيما الم مرحم. ورون مكي ادم كمندي كعدد. ودل بعددكي ودل بعددي خضب، ودكم، وقده الم المعمد حمور وحده والمعدده المعدده المعدد المع وحدودتمدا وجسور وحسودسدا بحيزا. مع بودرا مو بمكب حوقدا بعدمتم مقددا مقع كمن وعدا بحدم الم بع استدا داعنهم دکومحکم بمکری احدد به او اوعده ا مد در ا بقربا. أو سكوا ويوعيه لا أماهم. الا معدا مو دلالا. ودكمب رقه ا دانبه و بدر الما هدم والما وقدم الما والما والم بحراً. مرام من العنا ويوم حده اسدرا ذم اعراب دور مرام بخدر دورما. دودسه مه خدر دسازه ا بسمدا که. مقدمکا وهودسدا ودورا هدما بانه حسم معر حدده محمد المدرون عے کمار کے بے امر مسکون مدمول کے بحدی اور ایک ممن مكے متسم دعوم طقن وصورم فحورے طمن بنے علها بعد بمعمل فه بسرم دس الما معككم ، وراف بوسع فسلما: ضوم امدوا دور دكرمه وقده المعلى وكلما المما الم صدين سدعد ا المان من المعدد عرصد الما مهدهم حرجودا: صبود كدكس ودها صمكهها دادما كسرا سرا صدف. اغذ الما بعم داملاه من من معلم عدد المرا وكقد المرا وكقد الما المنا الم وكعردورا والقالمودسا. وكشددم وكسودا. ودكمور مكر عربقا وافكراء دكستوي. لا موا دولا سمد كمون موكراها. ومكسال به حدل سع ٥٥٠ الا حصرم مكملى، وحصرم لا مكملى، الحدا وافكيد بنوسد. وحدن معرض بمكمل المحدودة وكرا. وحدة حرم ولا مكملي. دوكور. واسل كسهور عليه الم محسل مكسوا امديا باعدم قريما. وبلا موا حكوم حرحمي فوا. عدمهما رحما حے موزا. بھی اسم بر المعمل المحمد محمد محمد المحمد المحمد

وحمر قدلمهوى والم بكتما مدوعهم لا عدمورد. والم بكذكم دهمه امر اتمه المر دعية الم وفدم كف والم المدا دمه امر حمة دا. وامل بعد درس امر دقه الم وقدار وكبوده تمان الم بحليمت اعدادني. وأمد بحداده الم بحدمه الم بحدمه الم والم داعي كسم سم صديده إما كم بمحدا دخد. دسرا بال مدد وددار دددا. الم يهم واتما مون وتوما. وحد مدله كولمن مدون ا وقدكم لكذا. بن و دورا و معسد و الله و الما دور الما و الما و دودود الما الإدران ودعد سدونه المعدد مدر المعدد مع مدون المدري المدري والمدد كا عمقوداً بكسمه وبقكهدس دجك من امندا بمززا. ممم اتدا واشهال والم وعدة عد عدود المره وسكال والاجديد كولا مزز ومعكم وه ديه المده ودين درودها: در درسور ودرسوا ووسم ادن من من درودوسون محتردددده، وادكم بعمد مهده حدم نكددا ددم بكدا. عرضه معم حسم. الا قدمدها أمكم وحوط كمما صمولا كمورى فيالممون: ٥٠٠٠١ كيم معدد من وجب دنه معنظ بعدد معدد معدد كود حدورهمى. أمدرا وبودع مددمه ولا هدكه. ودامست دعكدا هزمه المن فك والجحر ادم، ولا معتم وكحمد وعدما كم كه. ال الم معدد المع معدد المعدد الم توندے حسوس او بقبع: او حسب مع قدوما بھے۔ الا مدانما ال بدد اه دبها اه دج القب اه معصد اه عدم اه دد امل وكمكم وقدم. وما عدم عدما ودهدا: وامكم ولا مقم حاميم، الا عے دروا مقم کے ال عدد سدرو حدر دروا عدروا ادرو حسم، أحكم ومع وحداده ودهم حديمه كسم أو معمق اتبع. حمم احمد وصعمادسمد وأو قدم اتب حمم سمجمد وعدم المراد ف

عدد ماكسه واعنى كبر الم استدا واعنى وصعدا وه وسكما عدرتم عدم المدما ورحم عدم المدما واعتماد ورحم عدم المدما واعتماد ورحم عدم المدما واعتماد و

ابعز كے. اور ادا او ورك ووس. وحز معل نبول ادا دامل قدر ادما

واهي دسا ومدا امد حنى الله في دسما عنى وسعدا ومؤذا ومع وسعد المعدود بدست حدد من الم عدم الله عدم الله

اخذ ادا كم بمددا كم عدد افذ مدا حديا مدا. بعد حده مد معدل دردها ، فك المراء عدم مدا كعدد و المدارة ال

حز بمع افذن که دکسور قدمدم سر حدر خدرم سود د دمر عداسمس مون. مبدد مول مول دورد و دورد من معرد موا كمن مكم مدى كمن سازه ا فدي كده وافديد كده . حوم به وعمد دكم فده حمدا معدا مس سازه ١٤ امسع كعاعد كدور. حمده بحزدما مده. بداركم ودادرا. وبدعوم حامعا. وبدوكم وبدعم. حر افر وحر خدا. ٥٥٠ وفكور ٥٥٠ عد معدد ويعدد مراحم عدله و ودميا اتب كود دكمن تدر انما الملممي ولا كول دكمن قديما دكسود الا احد كول دكسم سنولا بدهم الم حسم، وحدسم احد كولا اتكدا. هدا يمن خدرا ٥٥ بعوسف. بحكوم خدرا محزرا معصعا المدرا بالجمر. وعدم دس بع بوه دمدا در دلهم کوع سنوع احد دحدرهم. اندارم حصرا اذر مع حسه. معله مدا دكس اتعدا اقكم حسزا اسع. مدما حسدا من ادلاً. معله سرا دكمي بقدا ادكه حسدا اتب. وبدونه ا برحم و مدا بعده معدمدزا. مدا حدده بدها دودها وكسل بحما أتم. معممكدا الم كم العدا حمدها بعده بعلمد: حسده الم معدالي مدا دوكم قومعدا مدا خدرم. وحوادا حدومصة معسا كفع بلا احسة ومديا دكمم عمردا معسى. ٥ وكمر سنوا دمدم دائن . ولا اوكم حصوا اقكم حصوا. ولا اقكم حصدز اتكے حصرا. « تسمم بب لا موا محدر صلابحتے. الا حرقه١١ بحيةمان دالهنم حدد أمر منها المر منها بم بالكمدمان عنوم بزدم كذرم. امر قدم ماذا مقدمكرا. وأمر بعدد المراد امل يمن صدره وحسزا من اذكب وكسعا لا عدمور مام عدره بعنه فكادكم بحسزا. وأمم مكسون بكدل حسز بسمه إيدها إمم حم لا ادكير. وأمد عدسور بعدد مداعد حمر اعدمدسور مدمر اشده دسور افكن كفال بندا بدنها لاده كال وحدا أنبا بلا عددس كعددبن. « افكن كه دومبال كاله وكم كتبا أن حنيمه افكن ادار بيكمكم كعدد اده. «

افكر حميراً وحرم بدريه الم على عدما عمدسا بدحم بدر

حزيم افكز. وكمل من كعدم المحداد مدم عدم وكعدومن عدم حمداً. كحدا بمع بعد مع بحده مع بحدها. معلك مدا نميا اعدام بخدم عدماً. دمما بب محدوده الم دددرودا وعده ما در مهمه ٠٥٥ حزدم ولا سكم حديد كذب كمم كستداد والمام حزب. وبعدس الم ودخر كيسوده وكملا ودولاً. ولا وم الم بينها ودوسا كفك بصدأ. لا مول بكيل. حزم بم معمدها بكموا. واعدم بخدم الم بمعمن حسم من نحسم من المانكان وانجا بحس الم سرمه معدد کدوره اصلام وادم وم فاهد و معدد و درسه مه ومرسم. وجدا معدا وزورا. وعدماسم حدومه وحدرة. ود حمدا ذكمدا فأجر لا كحل ادم إذكا كعلمسامه ومدم بنيا حميم. واحد عمدهما الما المرا المرا حداده على كولم حداد وكم وم ومهم حصم ووكميد. المم كمهما وهودا. الا حدة الم دامِدن، واحد علامهم حو حدوم ودها الا لا دو حدوم كتهني، ولا حر محمدسي، ولا حرا عدرا لاحدا، ولا بهد حسموددا لاحل. واسمن من دسل بحرم بدور در هدرا حبمل اسمن مد بهمة في المرا. والعزم مده ورا. والعزم فعد عدد زوك ا. محمده مدحمع كمعسد حكور والعن ونسطدا فيدا معدمورا. تمد

حزبي افكن مدا حم عدا من داسا دلا زحا كعدم بمعن. مدمزامد بدن بالمدعد المدحر كددكردده. للهمز الاحفره قدم الم كعدد. الا فده عبر بعدسم كعدد. باتم الم حوقودم هبطم موطم: أمكم دكن كسانه املم وابقبي. سم دردون می در درم درسه مسسی که درموا کی می درد عرم بمحمد ونسطمع کرم وزدیم باحد کے محدد دموا بعده محد حزيما بعد وكر بل بهده اه محم بل بديرا اه محم بلا بيءة وبردا. أو فك بدسدا ودمعنى بدوا دكسم نحددا ادم بدندا ولا موا حسلا دوروا موم مربي. الا حردمدا ددها. احربه دموا الما معسم موزمه معرمه معرمه حدة بعده مدر مركم در مرح عمدس بال دخدر اتم. والمدا بمكم عدمدس بالم دخير. محدا عدمدس كعيسم وكعدوه وكعاعز منوزا. وبدرا بمحمة كدل فع بمن. ولى سكم وه وفظها حاميه وهم ودم حكم واملا كه محمديد. اح بسمكور حسل بحي كفي بديمه ديمه احد مبرا صمحس. عيه محد أنه ولا محمد وتهدم حكومه سعمته معدودا لا نها الم ادا ہمز فحز ادا بملمز معے بحد حدم حبر حدمكم مده دوقرد مسكم حزيماً. وكمكم إده المعمر وقده وقده المحمد كعروده الده المرابعة الحفر ويممول لحدا معمرا بقاها : أه بقسا أه بعدم اسمى المحم بسكمام من بحيرا حكسه عمدسم كعددين. ولا بنجدا حرط ەبىمات قىرمىدا: انبا بقىكدا مە دكسەب كمددبى كعددبى وال ودوخ جدا امرا بقكسا ٥٥ دكسه محفى كعرده. ولا ودعمهم اندا وبفكي. أنبرا بقدمه من حكسه برخم كنه. اهلا سرا مع المحدد المحمد وكون القب الممسي: معزط كموم وكدسم. الا الممدد كي أمر حسمده من الم المعرد المرب بدل حن المحمد المرب بدل حن الما وبحما أمد حده صمحت ودحد الده دم سبال كمد مم حودما ولا منها عدا بخدم بمحمن ، ولم بلا عدادسم حددمه امدا بالممن عدم عدما. سلم على من من الما من المدا المحلم المحلم على مناسب الم من المناسب الم من المناسب المن

لاء مر دور. مدل مرا المس مرا المس و مرب و دوس مده دا. والمعكمة والمار والمست كبر احداد والمستدار ودول المراح ودولا بعدد كعدد أ زدا دديمه مد وال لا زدا لا دديمه مد وال برخا يعمه أه سند. كه يمز الاحدر مها المديد والا بمدس كعدد حمداً بلا سود دن ودا احد الحدا انبا بخدم ووا لا موا بعده ٥٥٥٠ وكعدوا حبة لا عدمد موا. فخع ولا موا يهم عدر وحسه خدم المحد أه درميد. احمد مسحوية. حكم بهه من وجرا حمد صعدا. مداره وا داسرا کدمی، بهدده ده برگدا صهد که حزدما: والمسحد كم سازودا ملمز مع بكسكم حوكسور القالمودسا واعدى دكسهوى وحن حسازه المنا يعمه ويد المراد المسكل حم قدالدا: منه باد مده سازه ا بدهمه اسبع. معددد المن الله والما المعرب من المام المام و المام و المام الما ومودرا عدد المرب بخدن وحدرا بعدامي. حموركم دهمهم الانمعده والمعموم وعدله قده والمادم ووالم فنع والمادهم المعادمة دلا عداما بدول هدم وكقده مدا كم كسب حزم بب بحو، داه بوسم ودها داخد، ددهموردا متعج، لا موا بعدامه بركم عب دكن سازه ١١. معلى ودا كموعدا اسزما دكمي قدمدور کیمدا . »

افذ ادا كه. وامددا امكم بقدمك اتم عدابمي.

افع کس ال موا حمدا بوصحب او محدمه عدابده اللهودها الله حدث بعد الله عدم ا

افع كم حصول مكم وافع كم معموم الله ما مسمد فعقودا والمعمد كتدمه المعمد كم وافع المعمد المعمد

حرم بال عصمعيم مزمز كسن. بعدم لا عصمعيم. الا عنم ادى دلمتدلمه، وكعمر لا معدسي، وحديه دووعه لكحكا وقدمحد من وحدل اجم مدلهم ادم ونمبحب وصعنوسي وأجز بم حزيما. بوه كيعمه لا إمامهم موا. إلا عادا موا. بنه فكي بعدم كه. مبدط وحددا واحد من فك وعدم المحدا وزحا. من عدم كم اه كهج اه كحسم وعدا عدم وزمم وه ادما عب ددنا باسنب ٥٥ وخد حدة. أه على معدده وأسنى معرج كنه. معدهما مهدما حمم اوصدا مو قمعے. وال مو ددنا مرف عدا بعد بعد حمود وال م حن حدد ال محمد عدد بيرا معدندا. الا قدادا اده بعديم كسهمسا بنه فك بالم حم مركما. كم بع حدهم عده لل رجا بمديا وحديمهم كديدها. الا حسازه المنادة مدر وقودا في المار واعممه حمر قطادا. سوزه رمز حمعما وحسمزا ودعده إكدا. وحمزدا بتحديدا. تورق دوددم ارق طدع حطيور. ولم المسحد كسى سازودا ويحمس. الا دكسور محمد ادور حصوراً. بنه عدم بعصر كسور حكسود دحدورى. ولا عدوم اسمعي. لليمم معدما صعد ١٥٥٨ افظ ولا فكم ادا حكرب . ولا هدة ولا عدما مكعد ادل ولا خوز ادل ولا ذخا ادل ولا سم مع حقددا افع ولا ونس ادا ولا عند ادا. ولا معدا ولا مفا اللا كقا: ولا مام اللا قلاسه عدد. ولا لهودا بلا معمد ما داد وما واصدمك حدور فل توسل اعدى والم دمدي والم اذكا والم مصل ادا معسدزا ادا كول عدا وامد كدل عدس. الا دكس وقدا وكنن وعدمدد ركس وومولا المسمى بهم قدالا بسدعده وكما بلا لحدا. که بهن در عبر عمصمه صمعم مدا. فع مه مدا بعداعد موا. وكه دلعبرم عداعده عداعد موا. فيه منه بعدمهم موا. ولا اسلاهم عبرم وزمم عدم عبرم. عبرم المعا دمه ٥٥ ٥ وونم كم حبر الممر ٥٥٠ وحود كممر لا عدم، الا الحم بعددهم كمععمدا الاصدى حسلا بحز الما. عدلها بحركم صمار محمل به المناه في المناه المنا

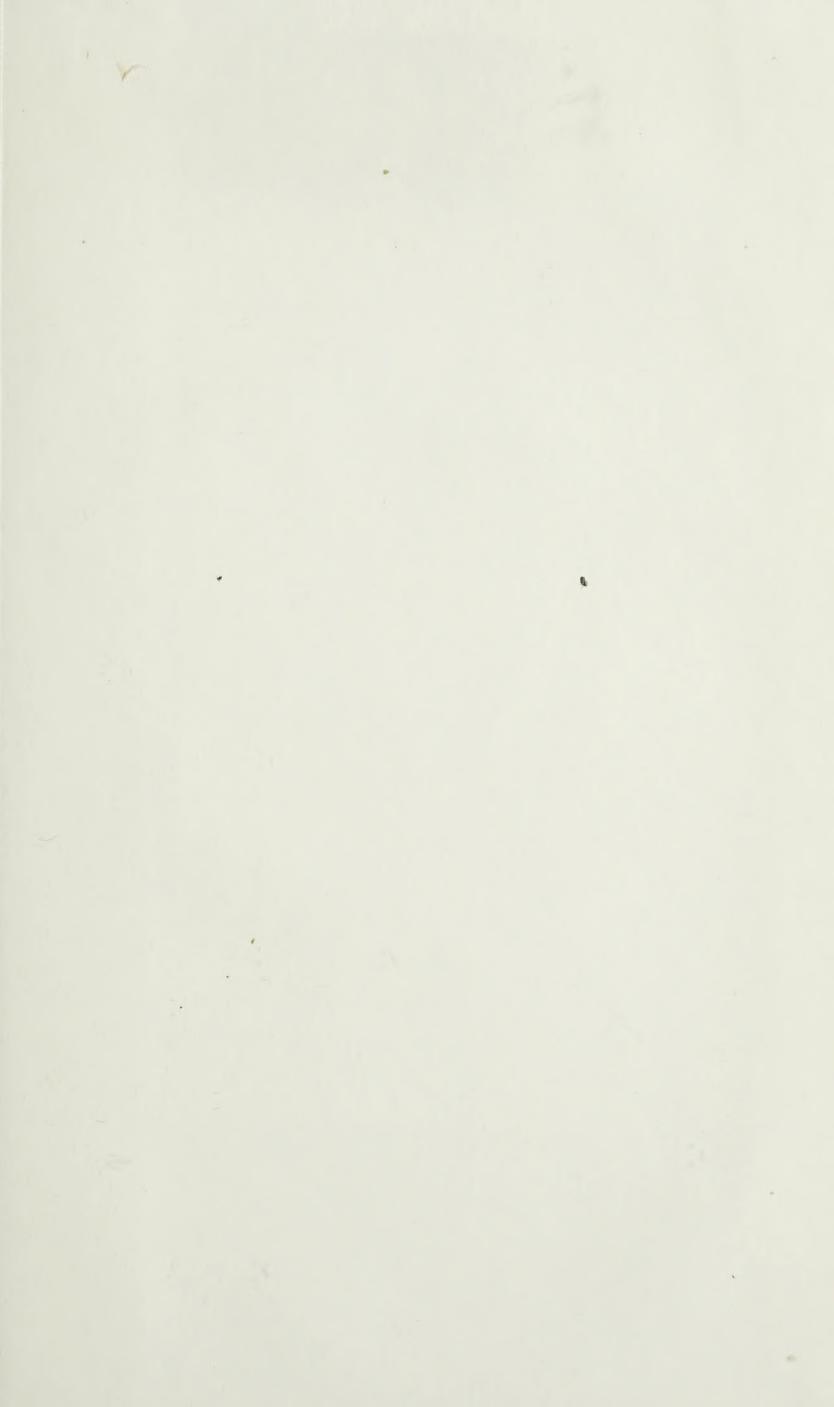
افخ حصراً. احد ادا لحد ادر ادا داخد عدد والمحمد عدل دورا عدد الم معدد الم عدد المد المراب معدد الم عدد الم عدد حدد والم المدر الم المدر والمدر عدد عدد والم المدر عدد عدد والم المدر عدد عدد الم المدر عدد عدد الم المدر عدد ال

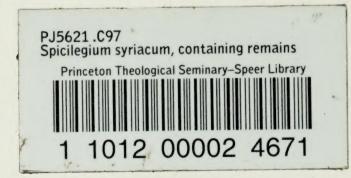
### حكحا بيقوها بالازهداء

حصرا افخز. ادا كعداكه من زدا ادا. خزمه به كمورم كعماكه كمكب انتب. عدله وعدر نده ادا.»

حزيمي افكن المحصدالم معصك ادلا حنور به بن بفع بمحمن







# DATE DUE

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